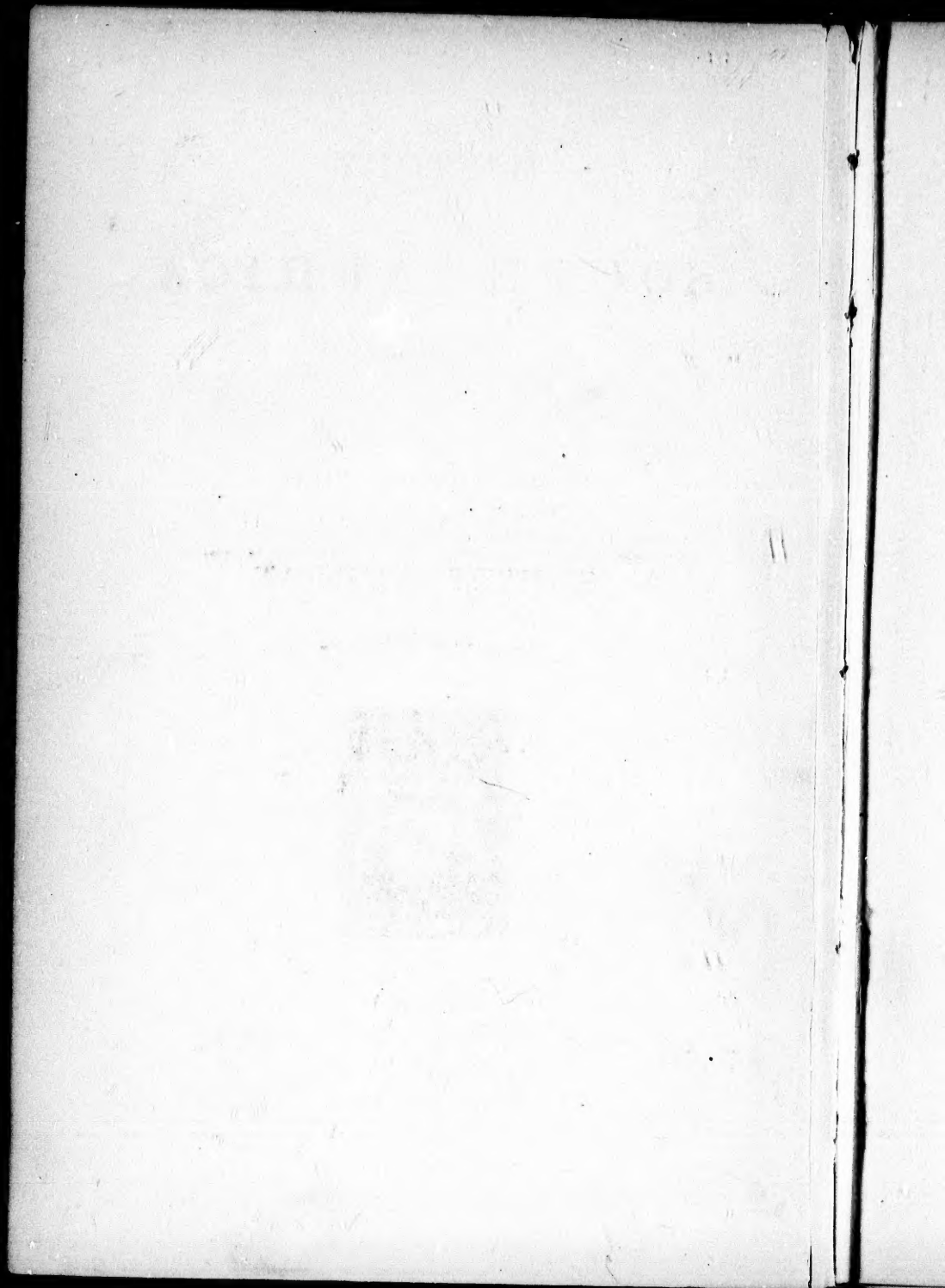


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SOUTH AFRICA

[1795—1834]



HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

[1795—1834]

BY

GEORGE M^CCALL THEAL

OF THE COLONIAL CIVIL SERVICE

MEMBER OF THE MAATSCHAPPIJ DER NEDERLANDSCHE LETTERKUNDE TE LEIDEN

MEMBRE CORRESPONDANT DE LA COMMISSION POUR L'HISTOIRE DES ÉGLISES WALLONNES

FORMERLY KEEPER OF THE ARCHIVES OF THE CAPE COLONY

WITH SEVEN CHARTS



LONDON

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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

1795-1834.

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THE surrender of the Cape Colony to the British forces on the 16th of September 1795 brought together two branches

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of the same race, for conquerors and conquered were of one stock. Of all the nations of Europe, the inhabitants of the northern Netherlands are the closest in blood to the people of England and Scotland. During the centuries that they had been separated, however, their training had been different, so that many slight variations had arisen. Though in the most important features their characters were the same, each regarded the variations in the other as blemishes, and often made more of them than they merited. If this can be said of Englishmen and Dutchmen in Europe, it can be asserted more strongly of Englishmen and Dutchmen in South Africa, for in this country circumstances had tended greatly to develop a few traits.

The system of taxation had been pernicious in its effects upon the character of the people. For three-quarters of a century the tithes of grain had been paid upon statements of the quantity harvested made by the farmers themselves. For more than a century the tax for district purposes, called lion and tiger money, was paid by the burghers upon their own returns of the cattle that they possessed. The law thus placed a premium upon false statements. There were exceptions, but in general the farmers had come to regard very lightly the giving in the number of their cattle and the produce of their lands at less than a third of the true quantity. A man, whose word under other circumstances might be depended upon, in this matter would utter deliberate falsehoods without any twinges of conscience, and even thought he was justified in doing so because the returns he was supplying were for taxation purposes. This trait in the character of the burghers was at once detected by the Englishmen with whom they came in contact, and made a very bad impression.

On the other hand, the habit of most Englishmen of that time of distorting accounts of national events made an equally bad impression upon the South African burghers, and thus each regarded the other as untruthful.

The manner in which the East India Company transacted business had caused another ugly trait to be unduly

developed in the character of many of the colonists. Accustomed to being defrauded in various petty ways, and to dealings conducted in an indirect instead of a straightforward manner, they had come to consider it rather a proof of cleverness than an immoral act to get the better of those with whom they were bargaining. It was regarded as nothing more than fair retaliation to cheat the government and its officers whenever and by whatever means it could be done. The tendency to dishonest and deceitful practices was made much of by unfriendly critics, though it was far from general, and at its worst was not greater than that of traders elsewhere who sell a bad article at the price of a good one.

The burghers were charged with being very ignorant. Excepting those in Capetown, they had hardly any education from books, and knew nothing more than how to read, write, and compute a little. All had bibles, the psalms in metre, and the Heidelberg catechism; but few possessed any books on secular subjects. Yet no people on earth were less stupid. They filled the offices of elders and deacons in the churches, of heemraden in the courts of law, of commandants and fieldcornets in war, with as much ability as educated people in Europe could have shown.

The colonists at a distance from Capetown were described as living in a very rough style. Their houses were small, poorly furnished, and untidy, said English visitors. It was true that the frontier farmers did not build or furnish large houses, for they were constantly liable to be plundered and driven away by savages. As soon as a district became tolerably safe, however, comfortable dwellings were put up by all who had means. The untidiness complained of was the result of the employment of negro and Hottentot servants. The ancestors of the colonists brought to South Africa the cleanly and orderly habits of the people of the Netherlands; but in many instances families had been unable to sustain the effort of compelling their servants to be neat and clean, and had fallen into the way of letting things take their course. But this was not peculiar to the

Cape Colony: it was the case wherever coloured people were employed as domestics. Mrs. Stowe's picture of Aunt Dinah's kitchen is just as faithful with the scene laid in Louisiana as if it had been laid in South Africa.

The other faults attributed to the colonists were those of country people all the world over. They were inclined to bigotry in religious matters, were very plain in their language, and loved to impose marvellous tales upon credulous listeners. They were accused of indolence by some English writers, but that was not a charge that could fairly be made. The man who managed either a grain or wine or cattle farm so as to make it pay had sufficient occupation without doing much manual labour.

On their side, the colonists found just as great faults in the English character. They pictured Englishmen as arrogant above all other mortals, as insatiable in the pursuit of wealth, as regardless of the rights of others, and as viewing everything with an eye jaundiced by national prejudice.

And yet with all this abuse of each other, which is to be found in books and manuscripts and official documents innumerable, there was really so little difference between English people and South Africans that as soon as they came together matrimonial connections began to be formed. Even the celebrated writer John Barrow, whose dark and distorted picture of the colonists was regarded in England for more than half a century as a faithful representation, shortly after his arrival married into a Cape family. The attractions of blood were stronger after all than prejudices born of strife and want of knowledge.

For, in the blemishes of the colonial character that have been described, there was nothing that education of a healthy kind would not rectify, and against them could be set several virtues possessed in a very high degree. The colonists were an eminently self-reliant people. They did not lose heart under difficulties as readily as persons fresh from Europe, for their firm faith in God's care sustained them in distresses that others would have sunk under. In tenacity of purpose they were without equals. When once

they resolved to attain an object, they pursued it unremittingly until it was won. Their hospitality to strangers was admitted even by those who were determined to see in them nothing else that was praiseworthy, and their benevolence towards persons in distress was very highly developed. There had hitherto been no need for an orphan asylum in the whole country, for orphans quickly found homes with persons who adopted them and treated them as children. There was no part of the world where a well-behaved and trustworthy stranger more readily met with assistance and genuine friendship.

On the 16th of September 1795 the English troops took possession of Capetown, and as far as the government of the Dutch East India Company was concerned the colony was surrendered; but the people of the country districts were not disposed to acknowledge the new authorities. The greater number of the militia retired to their homes, declaring that they did not consider themselves bound by any capitulation made by Commissioner Sluysken, and about a hundred of the Dutch artillery corps deserted and followed the burghers inland.

Under these circumstances every possible effort to soothe the colonists was made by the English commanders. The people of Capetown were treated in such a manner as to dispel their anxiety, and they were assured that they would presently be in the enjoyment of such liberty and good fortune as they had never known before. The government was carried on by Admiral Elphinstone and Generals Clarke and Craig, acting conjointly. On the 1st of October the important office of secretary to government was provisionally bestowed upon Mr. Hercules Ross. But many of the former civil servants who were willing to take an oath of fidelity to the new authorities were retained in employment. On the 10th of October the late secunde—Johan Isaac Rhenius—was offered and accepted the office of receiver and treasurer general, the late resident at Simonstown—Christoffel Brand—became collector of the tithes of grain and the wine tax, and another of the Dutch East India Company's old

servants—Jan Pieter Baumgardt—was appointed collector of the land revenue. The fiscal—Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld—remained in office, and most of the clerks in the different departments were allowed to keep their situations.

The paper currency of the colony amounted to 258,255*l.*, and there was no metallic coin in circulation. To relieve anxiety concerning this matter, on the 1st of October the British commanders issued a proclamation fixing the rate of exchange at two hundred and sixty-four stivers in paper for a golden guinea, sixty stivers in paper for a Spanish silver dollar, and twelve stivers in paper for an English silver shilling. This proclamation was of great service in relieving the apprehensions of the colonists, though it was impossible to keep up the value of the paper by such means. Persons owing money in Europe, for instance, could not obtain bills of exchange under twenty to thirty per cent premium, and in common dealings three shillings in silver would purchase as much as a paper rixdollar. Copper coin that was paid to the troops was eagerly sought by shopkeepers, and penny pieces passed current as equal to two stivers, instead of only one. A few years later—in 1800—this value was put upon them by law to prevent their immediate exportation, and to this day they are often called by the coloured people dubbeltjes, a name they then acquired. For the time, however, the attempt of the British commanders to place the paper money on a par with metal had the desired effect of doing much towards conciliating the colonists.

Another popular proclamation was issued on the 30th of October, by which purchasers of small quantities of goods at auction sales were relieved of the obnoxious stamp duty. From the proceeds of the sale the auctioneer was to deduct three and a half per cent for the government and one and a half per cent for himself on movable property, and one and a half per cent for the government and three-fourths per cent for himself on fixed property. Purchasers of goods under the value of 20*l.* at any sale were relieved altogether of the payment of stamp duty on their accounts as made out from the vendue rolls.

The committee of the high court of justice was dissolved, and in its stead a board termed the burgher senate was created. This board consisted of six members, the senior of whom was president. Vacancies were filled by the head of the government from a fourfold list of names furnished by the board itself. The members were not by virtue of their office judges in the high court of justice, though any of them could be appointed judges without resigning their seats in the senate. The duties of the burgher senate were to represent to the government matters affecting the colonists, to keep the roads in order, to provide watchmen for the town, to propose to the head of the government the best means of levying taxes for these purposes, to farm out the public windmills, to regulate the prices of bread and meat, to fix tradesmen's wages, &c., &c., in short to perform all the duties—except judicial—of the burgher councillors and the commissioners of the high court of justice in former times. The creation of this board was announced soon after the capitulation, but the arrangements for its establishment could not be completed before the end of January 1796.

These measures had equally good effects in Stellenbosch as in Capetown. Landdrost Bletterman, however, expressed a wish to retire from service, assigning as a reason that he was getting old and was not in good health. His resignation was accepted, and on the 7th of November he was succeeded by Mr. Ryno Johannes van der Riet. In the district no opposition was made to the new authorities.

Swdellendam also was induced to submit without a struggle. Fieldcornet Daniel du Plessis was made much of by the British officers, and was quite won over for the time. Two days after the capitulation, when he desired to return home, a document signed by Major-General Craig was given to him, with the request that he would make its contents known to everyone whom he should meet. It was worded as follows:

'The monopoly and the oppression hitherto practised for the profit of the East India Company is at an end. From this day forward there is free trade and a free market. Every one may buy

from whom he will, sell to whom he will, employ whom he will, and come and go whenever and wherever he chooses, by land or by water. The inhabitants are invited to send their cattle, &c., to Capetown, where they are at liberty to sell the same in such a manner as they may find best and most profitable for themselves. No new taxes will be levied; such as are at present in existence as soon as possible will be taken under consideration, and those which are found to be oppressive to the people will be done away with. The paper money shall continue to hold its value, but the English make their payments in hard coin. Lastly, the inhabitants of the different districts are invited by the English commander, if there is any subject which has not been explained to them, to choose fit persons and send them to Capetown for the purpose of conferring with him upon such subject.'

Du Plessis was further informed that Mr. Faure would be sent back as landdrost, and that the past acts of the nationals would be buried in oblivion if they would submit to the British authorities. This mode of proceeding had the desired effect. Mr. Faure called a special meeting of the heemraden for the 4th of November, and invited the members of the national assembly to be present. The heemraden Hillegard Mulder, Pieter Pienaar, Pieter du Pré, and Hermanus Steyn—the last named the landdrost under the nationals,—and the members of the national assembly, Jacobus Steyn, Ernst du Toit, and Anthonie van Vollenhoven, attended. Mr. Faure read the instructions which he had received, when all who were present gave in their submission, and took the oath required by the British commanders. Mr. Steyn transferred the drostly, and thereafter took his seat with the heemraden.

A few months later a man of marked ability, named Andries Stockenstrom, was appointed secretary of the district of Swellendam. He was by birth a Swede, but had entered the Dutch East India Company's service, and in 1786 became a clerk in an office in Capetown. The great difference between the ideas of those days and our own is exemplified by this man—who in later years was known as a philanthropist—having been for some time employed as

the supercargo of a vessel engaged in transporting slaves from Madagascar to the Cape. It was he who purchased the negroes, and collected them together for embarkation. But only a century ago it was regarded rather as a meritorious than as a sinful act to remove savages to a country where they would be within the influence of Christianity. Stockenstrom was next appointed bookkeeper of the naval establishment, and performed the duties of that office until the surrender of the colony. In March 1796 he was selected by General Craig to fill the post of secretary of Swellendam.

The oath which was required to be taken by all the officials and generally by the burghers of the Cape, Stellenbosch, and Swellendam districts was the following: 'I swear to be true and faithful to his Majesty George the third, by God's grace king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c., for so long a time as his Majesty shall remain in possession of this colony.'

On the 30th of September Admiral Elphinstone and General Clarke issued a proclamation in which they announced that they had appointed Major-General James Henry Craig 'commandant of the town and settlement of the Cape of Good Hope,' and that he had their authority for the arrangement and disposal of all matters civil or military relating to the colony. The government, however, was conducted by the three officers conjointly until the 15th of November, when Admiral Elphinstone and General Clarke sailed for India.

The people of Graaff-Reinet had not yet submitted, but on the 27th of October a letter explaining their conduct was written by the leaders of the nationals to the British commanders, which led to the belief that they were ready to come to terms. General Craig appointed as landdrost a colonist who had been an officer in De Lille's regiment, named Frans Reinhard Bresler, and gave him instructions to conciliate the farmers. 'They would be required to obey him as a father, but he was to act as such, to study their welfare, to represent what means would ameliorate their

condition, and to protect them against their enemies.' . . . 'If he should find that the Bushmen, grown bold through want of proper exertions to stem their progress, had become formidable, and that he required powder and ball for the parties he might find proper to send on commando, he needed only to say so to be immediately supplied from the government stores.'

On the 9th of February 1796 Mr. Bresler arrived at the village of Graaff-Reinet. He was accompanied by the reverend Mr. Von Manger, who had retired to Capetown some time before. On his journey he met a party of seventeen farmers, who made no objection to take the oath of fidelity, and he sent out a commando, under Matthys de Beer, against Bushman marauders. Upon reaching the village, the national landdrost Gerotz gave him quarters in the drostdy. But he was not permitted to enter the courtroom, and was informed that the landdrost, the secretary, and the minor officials had been instructed by the representatives of the people to retain their posts and to allow no one else access to the records until after a meeting which was to be held on the 22nd.

On the day appointed the heemraden Jan Booysen, David van der Merwe, Schalk Burger, and Andries van der Walt were present, as were also the militia officers Adriaan van Jaarsveld, Andries Burger, Andries Smit, David van der Merwe, junior, and Pieter Kruger. At a separate table sat the representatives of the people: Hendrik Krugel, Jan Durand, Christoffel Lotter, and Jacob Kruger. A messenger was sent to invite Mr. Bresler to appear and inform the assembly for what purpose he had visited Graaff-Reinet. He did as desired, and, after reading his commission, added that he would convene a meeting of the heemraden that afternoon and preside in it. He was asked if the representatives of the people would be admitted, and replied that he could not acknowledge them.

At two in the afternoon Mr. Bresler caused the drostdy bell to be rung, and directed one of his servants to hoist the English flag on the staff. A few minutes later a number of

excited people crowded about him, and one of them—Jacobus Joubert—ordered him to have the flag lowered at once. He refused to comply. Joubert, Jan Groning, and Jan Kruger then hauled the flag down. Amid uproar, Mr. Bresler demanded to know whether they would acknowledge the king of England as their sovereign, Major-General Craig as their governor, and himself as their landdrost, also whether they would take the oath of fidelity. Not one was willing to do so. Mr. Bresler was informed that they had elected Marthinus Prinsloo, of the Boschberg, to be 'protector of the voice of the people,' and that they had instructions from him which they would obey. The district secretary, Samuel Oertel, was directed to read the letter of instructions. It forbade all persons from taking the oath of allegiance to the king of England, and announced that another meeting would be held on the 22nd of March to settle matters finally.

Mr. Bresler remained to learn the result of this meeting. The day before it was to take place, a man named Jan Pieter Woyer returned to the village from a tour he had just made through the district. Woyer, who had studied medicine in Europe and was generally well informed, had not been long in South Africa, but had filled the post of district surgeon of Graaff-Reinet since December 1794, and had thus an opportunity of acquiring influence. He was a warm upholder of French principles, and hated England to a corresponding extent. At this time he was doing all that he could to induce the farmers not to submit to the British authorities. Mr. Bresler had found the landdrost Gerotz and the secretary Oertel men of sound sense and moderate opinions, so that he hoped to be able to convince them of the uselessness of resistance; but when Woyer appeared, he recognised at once that his cause was hopeless.

On the 22nd of March there was a large gathering at the drostdy. The heemraden, militia officers, and representatives of the people took their seats in the courtroom, and a son of Adriaan van Jaarsveld was then sent to call Mr. Bresler. There was a crowd outside the building, and upon

Bresler's making his appearance, Marthinus Prinsloo ordered silence to be kept that they might hear what he had to say. He commenced to read some proclamations issued by General Craig, but was interrupted by Carel Triegard and others. At length Adriaan van Jaarsveld stated that they intended to retain their own government, and would only agree to terms which he wished to be taken down in writing. These were :

1. That the people of Graaff-Reinet were willing to take to Capetown for sale such articles as their land produced, according to the ancient custom.

2. That they would observe all reasonable orders and laws, provided the English governor would supply them with powder, lead, clothing, and such other articles as they needed.

Hendrik Krugel dictated two additional articles :

3. That the people of Graaff-Reinet would not draw the sword against the English.

4. That their only reason for refusing to take the oath required was that when the states-general of the Netherlands should retake the country they would not be able to justify themselves if they did so.

These articles were confirmed by all present, and the crowd outside then dispersed. Next morning Van Jaarsveld and some others proposed to the reverend Mr. Von Manger that he should remain under their government, but he declined, on the ground that he had taken an oath of fidelity to the king of England. On the 25th he and Mr. Bresler left the drostdy to return to Capetown.

On hearing of these proceedings, General Craig sent Major King with three hundred men of the 84th regiment to Stellenbosch, to be in readiness to move forward at short notice. Supplies of ammunition and goods of all kinds were cut off from the district of Graaff-Reinet. A corps of Hottentots was raised for service in the interior. They were enlisted for a year, were provided with arms, clothing, and rations, and each man received sixpence a week in money.

Meantime dissensions broke out among the people of

Graaff-Reinet. The farmers of the fieldcornetries of Zwartkops River, the Zuurveld, and Bruintjes Hoogte remained faithful to the government they had established, but the others came to a conclusion that it would be better to submit to the English than to be deprived of a market to buy and sell in. Woyer, for whose apprehension the government was striving, suddenly disappeared.

On the 22nd of August there was a public meeting at the drostdy, attended, however, by no one from Zwartkops River, the Zuurveld, or Bruintjes Hoogte, except Adriaan van Jaarsveld. The landdrost Gerotz and the secretary Oertel exerted themselves to bring about submission to the authorities at the Cape, with the result that a document was signed by all the people of note present—including Van Jaarsveld—in which they promised fidelity to the English government. Two deputies—Pieter Ernst Kruger and Christiaan Rudolph Opperman—were sent to Capetown with it.

The deputies reached their destination on the 8th of September. Two days earlier Major King had left Stellenbosch with two hundred dragoons, five companies of light infantry, one hundred and fifty pandours, and three field-guns, to commence military operations in Graaff-Reinet. An express was sent to recall this force, and overtook it at Roodezand. General Craig empowered Mr. Gerotz to act as landdrost and Mr. Oertel as secretary until further instructions, promised that the past should be forgotten, and issued a general amnesty from which only Woyer was excluded.

The other party still held out. In June, on Marthinus Prinsloo's summons, a meeting was held at the Boschberg to discuss the question of surrender, but the decision was adverse. By November, however, the want of ammunition and clothing materials was so pressing that some of the least resolute resolved to send a deputation to Capetown to proffer submission and to make certain requests. The burghers Willem Prinsloo, junior, and Frans Labuschagne accordingly brought to General Craig a letter dated the

12th of November and signed by twenty-nine persons, which professed to explain the wishes of the farmers of Bruintjes Hoogte and the Zuurveld. They desired the approval of the government to their entering the Kosa country for the purpose of recovering cattle that had been stolen from them, requested permission to occupy land along the Koonap and Kat rivers, objected to the appointment of Mr. Bresler as landdrost and asked that some one possessing greater sympathy with the farmers should be sent in his stead, suggested a slight alteration in the constitution of the board of heemraden, and hoped that a proclamation would be issued to secure them from being forced to serve in either the British army or navy.

General Craig replied in writing on the 31st of December. He informed them that they became subjects of the king of England by the capitulation, and could not expect special terms. He strictly ordered them not to make war upon the Kosas to recover their cattle, or to occupy land beyond the boundary; and advised them to treat the Kosas with all possible kindness. He could not allow them to dictate the nomination of a landdrost. No alteration in the form of government of the district could be made, and the heemraden would be appointed as of old. He advised them to abandon the absurd idea of an independent government, and warned them against further opposition. He would not furnish them with powder and shot until they paid due obedience to the lawful authorities.

The deputies hereupon declared that they were willing to submit, and with this the matter ended for a time. Mr. Gerotz remained as acting landdrost, and administered justice in the name of the king of England, without any open opposition, though without any strong hold upon the people. The national party was by no means extinct, but recognised the uselessness under existing circumstances of attempting to set the British authorities at defiance. Many of them hoped that aid from abroad would shortly reach them, for Woyer had been confident of French assistance and had gone to procure it.

A Danish ship that put into Algoa Bay gave him an opportunity to leave South Africa. Embarking in her, he reached Batavia safely, and found there the French admiral De Sercey with six frigates. The admiral was induced to send the frigate *Preneuse* to Algoa Bay with ammunition for the use of the republican party in Graaff-Reinet. On her arrival, she found the English sloop-of-war *Rattlesnake* and a merchant vessel at anchor in the bay, so that communication with the shore was impossible. The *Preneuse* exchanged a few broadsides with the *Rattlesnake*, and then stood off to sea.

To the governor-general Van Overstraten, Woyer communicated the condition of things in Graaff-Reinet, and persuaded him to believe that only a supply of ammunition was needed to ensure a formidable opposition to the English. After remaining eight days in Batavia, Woyer left in a French ship bound to Mauritius, and nothing more is related of him in the colonial records until October 1802. He was then a military lieutenant in the Dutch service, and had gone to the United States with a view of getting a passage to Java in an American ship. The government at the Cape was warned that he intended, if possible, to touch at South Africa, and it would be necessary to watch his movements closely.

Mr. Van Overstraten resolved to send all the aid that was in his power. Not a soldier could be spared, but there was plenty of ammunition in the magazines, and a smart-sailing brig named the *Haasje* was at anchor in the roads awaiting orders. In her the governor-general shipped thirty-six thousand pounds of gunpowder, eight pieces of field artillery, fifty bales of clothing material, and as much sugar and coffee as would complete her lading. With a crew of twenty Europeans and twenty-four Malays she sailed from Batavia on the 19th of February 1797, no one but the governor-general and her skipper knowing her destination. The crew believed they were bound to Ternate, and so much secrecy was observed that a pilot who was engaged to conduct the brig through the strait of Bali was

not set ashore lest he should make the true course known. The skipper of the *Haasje* was a half-caste Javanese named Jan de Freyn, a natural son of a Dutch officer of rank.

The destination of the *Haasje* was Algoa Bay, but on approaching the African coast a violent storm was encountered, in which the brig sprang a leak and was otherwise so much damaged that Skipper De Freyn resolved to put into Delagoa Bay to refit. He cast anchor there on the 3rd of May, and found that nothing was to be had except from his own resources.

The Portuguese fort at Lourenço Marques had been destroyed by two French frigates in October 1796. The governor and garrison of eighty soldiers were obliged to retire into the back country, and they were then living in great discomfort and anxiously waiting for a vessel to come and take them away. There was a whaling ship named the *Hope*, with a crew of twenty-four men, lying at anchor, and flying the American flag. With the officers of this ship De Freyn opened a friendly intercourse, and after a short acquaintance he informed them that he intended to try to communicate with the farmers of Graaff-Reinet from Delagoa Bay, but if he could not do so he would proceed to Algoa Bay as soon as his vessel was repaired and he had taken in wood and water. This divulging of his business was fatal to his mission, for the *Hope* was really an English ship, and was only flying the American flag as a ruse.

The *Haasje* went some distance up a river, to the territory of a chief named Kapela, where her cargo was landed, and she was then hove down to be repaired. On his arrival Skipper De Freyn engaged a black man to go inland with a letter addressed to the farmers of Graaff-Reinet, and while his vessel was being repaired he set out in person to try to make his way to them, but after three days' travel was obliged by the attitude of the natives to return.

A day or two later a Portuguese vessel arrived in Delagoa Bay to remove the distressed governor and his people. From her the master of the *Hope* got assistance in

men and guns,¹ and then proceeded up the river to attack the Dutch. The *Haasje* was so far ready for sea that she was afloat in the river with six pieces of artillery in her hold, when a native brought a report that the English were approaching with hostile intentions. De Freyn at once sank his vessel, and prepared for defence on shore, where all the cargo—except the six guns—was stacked up and covered with sails. On the 28th of May the English and Portuguese attacked him, but a party of Kapela's followers came to his aid, and enabled him to resist for some time. In the end, however, he was beaten, and the English got possession of the two fieldpieces which were on shore and twenty-two thousand eight hundred pounds of gunpowder. The remainder of the cargo was plundered and carried away by the natives while the skirmishing was going on.

The *Haasje* was got afloat again, and Alexander Dixon, chief officer of the *Hope*, with a prize crew of five men, brought her to Simon's Bay, where she arrived on the 11th of August. De Freyn and some others were left behind.² After vainly trying a second time to make his way to Graaff-Reinet, the skipper and his companions returned to Lourenço Marques, and obtained passages to Table Bay in some whalers that put in shortly afterwards.

On his arrival at Capetown De Freyn entered a protest against the seizure of the *Haasje* by the crew of a vessel not provided with letters of marque, and in a neutral port belonging to a sovereign who was not at war with the Batavian Republic. But his protest was of no avail. He

¹ De Freyn, in a deposition made in Capetown on the 18th of October before the attorney Willem Kolver, says eight fieldpieces and fifty soldiers under a Portuguese officer. Alexander Dixon, mate of the *Hope*, in his official report, says ten men with a supply of ammunition and four guns. The only other document in the Cape archives from an actor and eye-witness—a deposition of Frans Nicholas Peterson, a Dane who was chief officer of the *Haasje*—does not settle the question.

² De Freyn, in his deposition, says that the English and Portuguese refused to make prisoners of the pilot Willem Sluyter, a mate named De Moor, and himself; but abandoned them and some Indian seamen in the Kaffir country. Alexander Dixon, in his report, states that the master of the Dutch brig and two of the mates escaped inland.

was arrested and sent to England, where he remained in confinement as a prisoner of war until March 1800, when he was exchanged.

Some months earlier another and much more important expedition from abroad also failed in its object.

During the night of the 3rd of August 1796 an express arrived at Capetown from Saldanha Bay, with information that nine large ships were off that harbour. Admiral Elphinstone with the fleet under his command had returned from Madras a short time before, and General Craig immediately forwarded the intelligence to him at Simonstown. Since the 19th of June it had been known at the Cape that a Dutch squadron was approaching, but it was not supposed that it would attempt to enter any port west of Agulhas. Admiral Elphinstone therefore at once put to sea, with the object of intercepting the hostile ships off the Cape of Good Hope. Lieutenant McNab, of the 98th regiment, was sent with twenty mounted men to the coast below Saldanha Bay to watch their movements. On the 6th he reported that they had anchored in the bay that morning.

On the 7th a proclamation was issued by General Craig, ordering all persons living within thirty miles of Saldanha Bay to drive their cattle inland, and announcing that any one found communicating with or endeavouring to join the Dutch fleet, or supplying the Dutch forces with provisions, cattle, horses, or assistance of any kind whatever, would be punished with immediate death.

There was a strong garrison in the Cape peninsula, and some transports on the way to India had just put into Simon's Bay, having on board the 25th and 27th regiments of light dragoons, the 33rd regiment of infantry, and five companies of the 19th. These were landed, and every exertion was made to mount the dragoons. All the saddle horses in the town and neighbourhood were required to be brought in by their owners, but were paid for on a valuation made by two dragoon officers and two members of the court of justice. Waggons for transport were also pressed into service, but without being purchased. One owner of a

waggon—a wealthy resident in Capetown—declined to supply it on the demand of the commissariat officer. General Craig promptly warned others, by sending a sergeant and ten soldiers to live at free quarters in his house.

Leaving nearly four thousand soldiers in the Cape peninsula under command of Major-General Doyle, General Craig marched to Saldanha Bay to meet any Dutch troops that might be landed, and arrived on its eastern shore in the morning of the 16th of August with a well-equipped force of two thousand five hundred men and eleven field-guns.

Meantime Admiral Elphinstone, having encountered stormy weather at sea, had returned to Simon's Bay on the 12th, and learned there that the Dutch fleet was in Saldanha Bay. The weather was so boisterous that he could not put to sea again until the 15th, but next morning he cast anchor within gunshot of the Dutch ships. As the troops under General Craig approached on one side, they saw the English fleet drawing in on the other. It consisted of two ships of the line—the *Monarch* and the *Tremendous*—of seventy-four guns each, five ships of the line—the *America*, *Stately*, *Ruby*, *Sceptre*, and *Trident*—of sixty-four guns each, the *Jupiter*, of fifty guns, the *Crescent*, of thirty-six guns, the *Sphinx*, of twenty-four guns, the *Moselle*, *Rattlesnake*, and *Echo*, each of sixteen guns, and the armed brig *Hope*.

As soon as the anchors were down, Admiral Elphinstone sent a letter to the chief Dutch officer, demanding surrender without shedding blood, as resistance to his overwhelming force must be useless. He received a verbal reply that a decided answer would be given next morning. Upon this he required an assurance that no damage would be done to the ships, and received a written promise to that effect from Rear-Admiral Engelbertus Lucas, who was in command of the Dutch fleet.

At nine o'clock in the morning of the 17th a Dutch officer was sent on board the flagship *Monarch* with a draft of terms of surrender, but the British admiral would grant no other conditions than the retention of private property

by every one and permission for the officers to remain in the colony under parole until they could return to the Netherlands in neutral ships. The Dutch fleet with everything that belonged to it must be surrendered intact. At five in the evening these terms were agreed to, and on the 18th possession was taken of the Dutch ships. They were the *Dordrecht* and the *Revolutie*, each of sixty-six guns, the *Admiral Tromp*, of fifty-four guns, the *Castor*, of forty-four guns, the *Brave*, of forty guns, the *Bellona*, of twenty-eight guns, the *Sirène*, of twenty-six guns, the *Havik*, of eighteen guns, and the *Maria* storeship, all in excellent condition and well fitted out.

There were nearly two thousand soldiers and sailors on board, who became prisoners of war. Most of the soldiers were Germans, who asserted that they had been prisoners to the French and had been compelled to take service with the Dutch. They were very willing to change sides, and the next transports that sailed to India took most of them away in English uniforms. A considerable number of the seamen also offered to enter the English service, and were gladly taken over. The British officers, indeed, congratulated themselves on having secured not only a number of excellent ships, but a fine body of recruits, just then much needed in India.

General Craig did his utmost to place English rule before the colonists in as favourable a light as possible. As a conqueror he could not be loved, but as a man he was highly respected. His government was just without being severe, and though the system was retained of civil servants deriving the larger part of their incomes from fees,¹ bribery and corruption were not tolerated. Much of his attention was occupied with strengthening old fortifications and constructing new ones. Some blockhouses which he caused to be built on the slope of the Devil's peak are still in existence, and a tower near the mouth of Salt River, which was called

¹ As an instance, the salary of the landdrost of Stellenbosch at this time was 120*l.* a year, with house and garden. But his perquisites were officially stated to amount to at least 1500*l.* a year.

by his name, remained standing until 1888, when it was broken down, and a large earthen fort was built upon its site.

In one matter only he made a great mistake. When the colony was surrendered there were over thirty-six thousand muids of wheat in the magazines, and the crops which were gathered a few months later were the best known for many years. Against the advice of men of experience in South Africa, General Craig sent a quantity of the prize wheat to England, and maintained that the demand created by the troops and naval forces would be met by increased production. But the harvest of the summer of 1796-7 was a very poor one, and famine was barely averted by sending in haste to India for wheat and rice and to Europe for flour at any cost. It was necessary to adopt very stringent measures to obtain bread for the troops, and a farmer who was at all dilatory in furnishing grain, if he had any, might make sure of soldiers being quartered upon him.

During the period of scarcity there was not sufficient money in the military chest to provide for urgent requirements, and coin was not to be had for treasury bills. General Craig therefore issued paper to the amount of 50,000*l.*, similar to that already in use in the colony. It was appropriated solely to purposes connected with the support of the troops.

The colony had been seized by the British government under the plea of keeping it out of the possession of the French and holding it in trust for the prince of Orange until his restoration to the stadtholdership of the Netherlands. But in 1796 the English ministry openly declared their intention not to give it up. It was to be kept as a crown colony and a station of great value as commanding the highway to India. A civilian of eminence was to be placed at the head of its government, and next to him in authority was to be a military officer of high rank and having command of a strong garrison. The king's ministers selected as governor the earl of Macartney, an Irish gentleman who had recently been raised to the peerage, and as lieutenant-governor and commander of the forces Major-General Francis Dundas.

Lord Macartney had previously filled many positions of importance. In 1764 he was sent as envoy extraordinary to the empress of Russia, in 1769 he was appointed chief secretary of Ireland, in 1775 he became governor of Grenada, and in 1780 governor of Madras. In October 1785, when returning to Europe after holding the appointment last named, he visited Capetown and resided here for a fortnight. In 1792 he was sent as ambassador extraordinary to the emperor of China. He arrived at the Cape in the ship of war *Trusty* on the 4th of May 1797, and at ten o'clock on the following morning, in presence of the members of the high court of justice, the burgher senate, the clergymen, and the principal residents in Capetown, at the government house in the garden his commission was read, and he took the oaths of office. General Dundas reached South Africa some months sooner, but did not assume duty until the 23rd of May, when General Craig proceeded to Bengal.

The administration of Lord Macartney in South Africa has been described by one of the ablest writers of the day, and that description has been received generally by Englishmen as correct. But the official records of his government, as well as the accounts given by colonists and by foreign visitors and travellers, do not accord with all that Mr.—afterwards Sir John—Barrow wrote. There are reasons for this, without implying that Barrow was intentionally guilty of misrepresentation. He was bound to Lord Macartney by the strong tie of gratitude. He had accompanied the embassy to China, during which he met with many favours. Then he was selected by Lord Macartney as one of his private secretaries, with a promise that he should be well provided for in South Africa, a promise that was faithfully kept. The one was a munificent patron, the other a grateful receiver of favours. This position must insensibly have coloured Barrow's pages. Then there was at least one strong sentiment in common to them both : a detestation of jacobin principles, so deep-rooted as to prevent them seeing any merit whatever in those who held republican views.

What to Barrow seemed good and liberal government appeared to others of his time oppressive and narrow; and there certainly never was a period in the history of the Cape Colony when there was less freedom of speech than during the administration of the earl of Macartney.

All the high offices were filled by Englishmen in receipt of large salaries. From the date of his appointment—1st of August 1796—the governor drew from the colonial revenue 10,000*l.* a year, besides a table allowance of 2,000*l.*; and he had the promise of a pension upon his retirement of 2,000*l.* a year for life. Mr. Andrew Barnard, colonial secretary, drew a salary of 3,500*l.* a year. Mr. Hercules Ross, who had acted as secretary under General Craig, was now appointed deputy secretary, with a salary of 1,500*l.* a year. Mr. John Hooke Green filled the office of collector of customs, with a salary of 1,000*l.* a year. Mr. Anguish, a young gentleman who came out with Lord Macartney purposely to be provided for, received the situation of controller of customs, with a salary of 1,000*l.* a year; and upon his death a couple of days later, the office was transferred to Mr. Acheson Maxwell, previously one of the governor's private secretaries. Mr. Barrow was employed for a time in commissions to different parts of the country, and was then made auditor-general, with a salary of 1,000*l.* a year. Without going further, here was a sum of 20,000*l.* a year, which was the first charge upon the colonial revenue. And the whole revenue of 1796, the year before Lord Macartney and the new staff took office, was 28,903*l.* 19*s.* All other expenditure was necessarily reduced to the lowest possible amount, in order that the imperial treasury should not have to make good any deficiency.

The government was free of the slightest taint of corruption, but was conducted on the strictest party lines. Those colonists who professed to be attached to Great Britain were treated with great favour. Lady Macartney had not accompanied her husband to South Africa, consequently there were no entertainments except dinners at government house; but Lady Anne Barnard, wife of the

colonial secretary and one of the most fascinating women of her time, did all that was possible to captivate the wives and daughters of the leading townspeople, so as through them to secure the goodwill of their husbands and fathers. Her receptions and frequent evening parties at her beautiful home at Paradise were designed for that purpose; but the circle to which she was able to extend her influence was small. To those within it, as well as to the English military and naval officers and the high-placed officials, the government seemed a model of perfection.

Among those who expressed the greatest satisfaction at having been relieved from the fear of French domination were Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille and Mr. Honoratus Maynier. The latter had come to reside at Wynberg, and will presently be found in office again. De Lille was now barrack-master in Capetown. The situation was not one usually held by a man of higher rank than a captain, but he seemed perfectly satisfied with his position.

As it had been resolved that the colony was to be a permanent British possession, a new oath of allegiance to the king was required of the burghers. To many of them this was very objectionable, and a few held back when summoned to appear before the officers appointed to administer it. The governor was firm. Dragoons were quartered upon several of the reluctant ones, and others were banished from the country. The late national commandant of Swellendam, Petrus Jacobus Delport, was among those who tried to evade taking the oath. He kept out of the way for a while, but a year later he was arrested, and was then placed on board a ship and sent into exile.

Quartering dragoons upon offenders holding jacobin principles was the ordinary method with Lord Macartney of 'bringing them to reason.' There was a scale of diet, according to which the dragoons could insist upon being provided, if they were not supplied with food to their liking. In some instances payment was made, but in others food and lodging were demanded free. Burghers who were suspected of being republicans, but whose language and

conduct gave no opportunity of bringing them to account, were appointed to some petty unpaid office, and if they declined to perform the duty and take the stringent oath required, a sergeant and ten dragoons speedily appeared with a demand for free quarters.

Allowance, however, must be made for the circumstances of the time, England and France being then engaged in a desperate struggle, and men of the tory party, such as Lord Macartney, regarding republican principles with something like horror.

The slightest indication of French proclivities roused the ire of the governor, as the following incident will show. In August 1798 Mr. Hendrik Oostwald Eksteen, of Bergvliet, between Wynberg and Muizenburg, invited a number of his friends to be present at his daughter's marriage, and was so imprudent as to issue the invitations on cards in the French style, substituting for Mr. the word Citizen. On the day of the ceremony the governor ordered a party of dragoons to 'proceed to the festive assembly of Citizens,' and to remain there 'to prevent any irregularity that might be apprehended from disaffected or suspected persons.' Mr. Eksteen was required 'without delay to retract and redress in the most public manner this wanton and petulant conduct, and to provide sufficient security for his good behaviour and dutiful deportment towards government in future, or to repair to that country where in the midst of confusion and medley his invitations would be better relished.' This order, conveyed in writing, brought the offender to government house, protesting that he had not meant to cause the slightest annoyance; but his apology was not accepted until he produced a bond for a thousand pounds, signed by two substantial persons, as 'security that he would not in future be guilty of similar or any other offences against the government.' The dragoons were then recalled.

General Craig had promised the colonists free trade, and he kept his word as well as he could. By free trade must of course be understood what the words implied in those

days, not what they imply now. A duty of five per cent of the value was charged upon both imports and exports, as under the Dutch East India Company. No merchandise whatever was allowed to be landed from a vessel under a foreign flag, unless by special permission under urgent circumstances, and then double import duties were charged upon such goods. The only exception to this rule was the case of a Portuguese vessel from Mozambique, which put into Table Bay with three hundred and fifty slaves on board. General Craig was of opinion that slaves were so greatly required for the extension of agriculture in the colony that he allowed this cargo to be landed and sold by auction on payment of the ordinary duty of 2*l.* a head. Any produce required by the government could be demanded at stated prices. Before the arrival of Lord Macartney direct commerce with England was not established, but goods were obtained from ships that called for supplies. Lord Macartney brought out with him and put in force an order in council concerning trade at the Cape of Good Hope.

Goods imported from the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland were to be admitted free of duty. This clause appears to be sufficiently explicit, but in practice it caused a great deal of controversy. In 1801 another order in council was issued interpreting it to imply that goods of British growth or manufacture brought from British ports in British ships were to be admitted free of duty, but goods of foreign growth or manufacture brought from British ports in British ships were to be subject to a duty of five per cent of their value, and the same duty was to be charged upon British goods imported in foreign ships. Subjects of friendly powers were to be permitted to carry on trade in the colony; but all goods that were not the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain and Ireland imported in foreign ships were to be subject to a duty of ten per cent upon their value. No goods could be imported from any place to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope except by the English East India Company.

No changes were made in any of the public institutions.

except the courts of justice. The high court was now reduced to a president and seven members, five of whom were to form a quorum. Under the former government the judges received no salaries, but half of their number held other offices, to which good incomes were attached. In the court as now constituted, the president—who was the senior member—received a salary of 400*l.* a year, the three members next in order of seniority received each 200*l.* a year, and the four junior members each 100*l.* a year. In civil cases, when the amount in dispute was over 200*l.*, there was an appeal to a court consisting of the governor and lieutenant-governor; and, when the amount in dispute was over 500*l.*, there was a final appeal to the king in council. The torture of criminals and infliction of death in any other manner than by the English mode of execution had been provisionally forbidden by General Craig, and his order upon these subjects was now confirmed. The powers of the minor courts to adjudicate in civil cases were enlarged: the court of commissioners for petty cases in Capetown to sums not exceeding 40*l.*, the courts of landdrost and heemraden of Stellenbosch and Swellendam to sums not exceeding 30*l.*, and the court of landdrost and heemraden of Graaff-Reinet, on account of the great distance from the seat of government, to sums not exceeding 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Mr. Bresler was instructed to return to Graaff-Reinet and assume duty as landdrost. With him was sent a guard of twelve dragoons, who were to remain at the drostdy as a garrison and to carry despatches. All arrears of land rents to the 16th of September 1795 were remitted. The former inhabitants of the fieldcornetcies of Zuurveld, Tarka, Zwagershoek, Sneeuwberg, and Nieuwveld, who had been driven from their homes by Bushmen or Kaffirs, were to hold their farms free of rent for the next six years, provided they would return and resume occupation within four months. If the landdrost should consider it necessary to call out a commando against Bushmen, the farmers were ordered by proclamation to obey. The Kosas in the colony were to be treated differently. The landdrost was instructed

to try to induce them to return to their own country, and he was to be careful that no encroachment was made by Europeans on territory beyond the Fish river, that the white men then living beyond that river should come back to the colonial side, that all Kaffirs in service with colonists should be discharged, and that no one should cross from either side of the Fish river to the other without special permission. In dealing with the Kaffirs, the landdrost was instructed that he must only employ force when he was sure of success. He was to report upon the advisability or otherwise of removing the drostdy from the village of Graaff-Reinet to the neighbourhood of Zwartkops River.

On the 30th of July Mr. Bresler, accompanied by Mr. Barrow, Lord Macartney's private secretary, arrived at the drostdy of Graaff-Reinet, and met with a friendly reception from a body of farmers who had assembled purposely to welcome him. On the following morning Mr. Gerotz transferred the office and the records, and he assumed the duties of landdrost.

After arranging matters at the drostdy, Messrs. Bresler and Barrow proceeded on a tour of inspection of the district. They first visited the country around Algoa Bay, and then travelled eastward through the Zuurveld, taking as guides the farmers Jan du Plessis and Hendrik van Rensburg, and as interpreter the Hottentot Willem Hasebek. At the Kariega river parties of the Amambala clan of Kosas, under the sons of Langa, were met, and near to them the clans of the Amantinde, Imidange, and Amagwali, under Tshatshu and other captains. Farther eastward was a clan that had recently come to reside there, under a young chief named Jalusa, who was a near relative of Ndlambe. All of these, on being requested to return to their own country, replied that they were willing to do so, but were afraid of Gaika. The chief of whom they thus spoke was the son of Umlawu and grandson of Rarabe in the great line. He had recently come of age, according to Kosa ideas, and had then claimed the position of chief of that section of the tribe over which his grandfather had ruled; but he had not succeeded in

establishing himself in it without opposition. A large party was desirous that the regent Ndlambe should remain in power, and had aided him to resist Gaika in arms, but had been beaten. The clans in the Zuurveld preferred to acknowledge the superiority only of Kawuta, head of the Galeka branch of the tribe and representative of Tshawe in the great line, because in that case they would be much less subject to control.

Messrs. Bresler and Barrow visited Gaika at his kraal on the bank of a little stream flowing into the Keiskama. Between the Fish and Keiskama rivers they found no inhabitants, as the former residents had recently crossed over to the Zuurveld. Gaika stated that the clans in the Zuurveld were not his subjects, and that he had no control over them, but he would be glad to receive them as friends if they chose to return to their former homes. He stated also that he had been at war with his uncle Ndlambe, who had been assisted by Kawuta, but that he had been victorious and had taken Ndlambe prisoner. The captive chief was then residing at Gaika's kraal with his wives and personal attendants, and was well treated, though he was not permitted to move about.

An agreement was made with Gaika that he should send a messenger with an offer of peace and friendship to the chiefs in the colony; that none of his subjects, on any pretence whatever, should have intercourse with the colonists, or cross the established boundary unless expressly directed to do so by him; and that he should keep up a friendly communication with the landdrost by sending to Graaff-Reinet, yearly or oftener, one of his people, who should carry as a mark of office a brass-headed staff with the arms of the king of England engraven on it.

Mr. Bresler next sent Du Plessis and Van Rensburg to Cungwa, who was living on the Bushman's river, to try to persuade him to remove beyond the Kei. But the Kaffirs in the Zuurveld had no intention of leaving it, and all the conferences and messages were useless. In February 1798 the landdrosts of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet were instructed

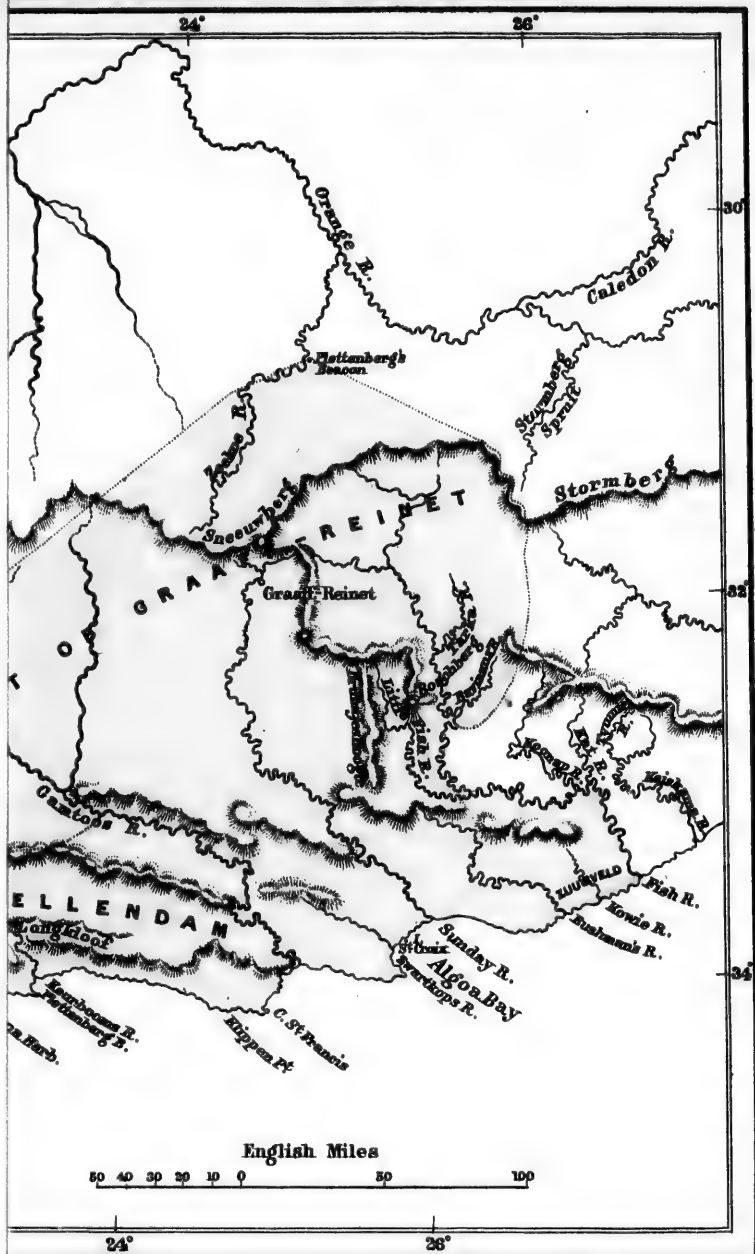
to renew the attempts to induce them to retire, and to warn them that if they did not leave of their own accord they would be expelled by force; but the warning was as unheeded as the requests.

In March 1798 the first post-office in the colony was established. Previously, letters for private individuals were sent as a favour with government despatches, or were given in charge of people on board ships. The office was at first intended only for an ocean mail, as there was no thought yet of a post within the colony. The charge on letters was at the rate of a shilling a sheet, and on books or newspaper packets four shillings a pound. Mr. John Holland was appointed postmaster-general, with an office in the castle. The revenue derived from this source was for some time about 200*l.* a year.

The northern boundary of the colony had never been defined by the East India Company. On the 14th of July 1798 Lord Macartney issued a proclamation, which added to the district of Graaff-Reinet a small piece of territory beyond the Tarka river, and declared the following to be the boundaries: the Fish river from its mouth up to Esterhuis's Poort at the end of the Kaga mountain, the Kaga mountain to the Tarka mountain, the Tarka mountain to the Bamboes mountain, the Bamboes mountain to the Zuur mountain, the Zuur mountain to Plettenberg's beacon on the Zeekoe river, Plettenberg's beacon to Great Table mountain, thence to the Nieuwveld mountains, along the Nieuwveld mountains to the source of the Riet river, the Riet and Fish rivers behind the Roggeveld mountain, the Spioen mountain, the Kabiskow peak, the Long mountain, the northern point of the Kamies mountain, and the river Koussie or Buffalo to the Atlantic. In the proclamation, all persons were forbidden to settle or graze their stock beyond these limits, under penalty of banishment and confiscation of their cattle, or to hunt game or travel there without a pass from the governor, under penalty of corporal punishment.

But, in point of fact, colonists were then living and paying rent for farms north of the Nieuwveld mountains, and

when its boundaries on all sides were defined.



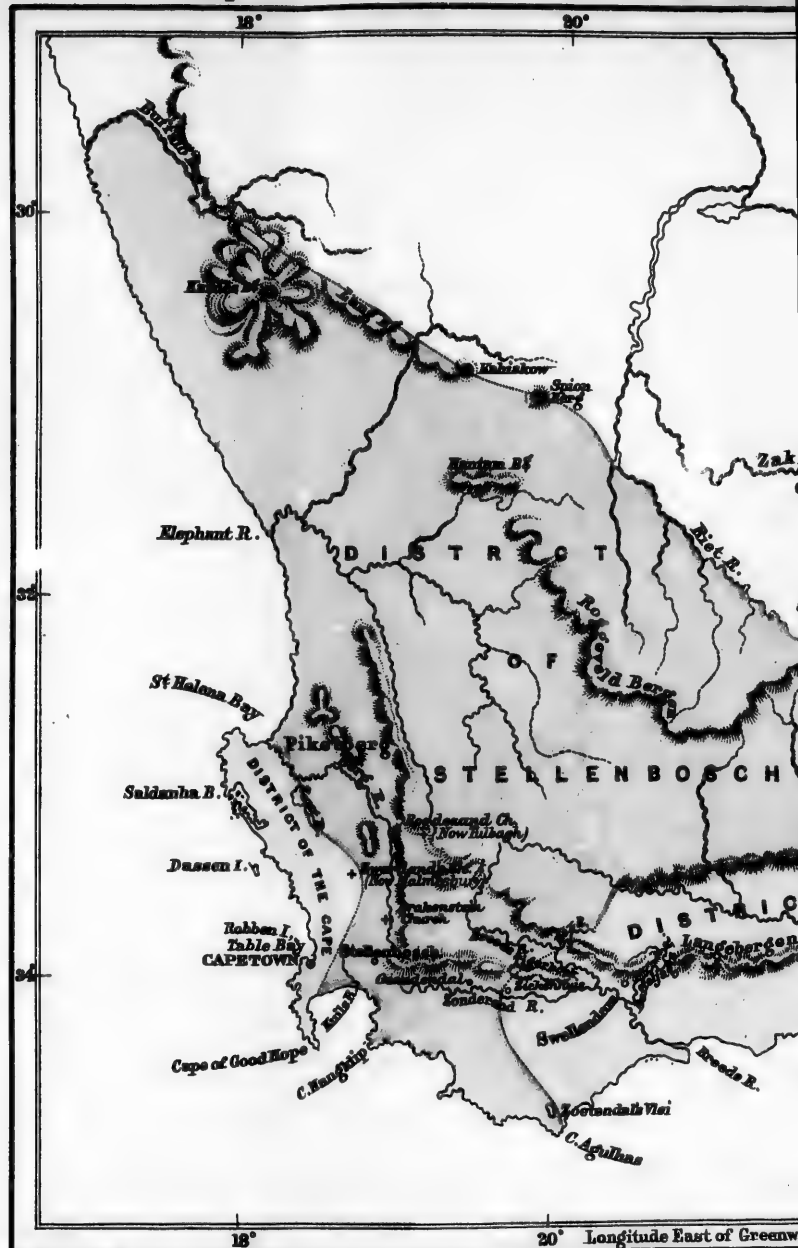
Stanford's Geogr. Inst. London.

Map VI. This map shows the extent of the settlement

The places where there were courts of law were
 Capetown, city founded in April 1652,
 Stellenbosch, village founded in December
 1679,
 Swellendam, village founded in October 1746,
 Graaff-Reinet, village founded in October
 1786.

The churches were at

Dutch reformed	Capetown, established in August 1665,
	Stellenbosch, established in January 1687,
	Drakenstein, established in June 1691,
	Roodezand (now Tulbagh), established in October 1743,
Lutheran	Zwartland (now Malmesbury), established in July 1745,
	Graaff-Reinet, established in October 1792,
	Swellendam, established in June 1798.
	Capetown, established in December 1780.
Moravian mission	Genadendal, established in December 1792.



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they were not disturbed by the government. On that distant frontier, seldom or never visited by any official of higher rank than a fieldcornet, it was impossible to have everything in regular order. The wording of the proclamation shows how vague was the knowledge at the seat of government of the geographical features of the country. Thus both the Riet and Fish rivers behind the Roggeveld mountains are named as forming the boundary, which is an impossibility.

On the western coast several harbours that had not been declared Dutch property by Skipper Duminy in 1793, as well as those which had been so declared, were taken possession of for the British crown shortly after the conquest of the Cape Colony.

When Admiral Elphinstone went to India in November 1795, he left Commodore Blankett in command of a squadron to guard the Cape until he should return. At the beginning of December the commodore sent Captain Alexander in the prize vessel *Star*—which had been converted into a British cruiser—up the western coast to examine the bays along it, and to take possession of them for the crown of England. The *Star* proceeded as far as the fifteenth degree of south latitude, touching on the passage at Angra Pequena, Spencer Bay, Walfish Bay,¹ and two ports several hundred miles farther north. At each of these places possession was taken by Captain Alexander, the ceremony consisting in hoisting the British flag, firing three volleys of

¹ The spelling of this name in official documents being as above, I am obliged to retain it, although the word Walfish, being partly Dutch and partly English, is objectionable. The Portuguese discoverers gave the inlet the name *Bahia das Baléas*, on account of the number of whales found there. The Dutch, who came next, merely translated the name into *Walvisch Baai*, and the first English followed their example and called it Whale Bay. During the time that Napoleon was confined on St. Helena, cattle were often brought down from Damaraland and sent from the bay for the use of the garrison at that island, and the English sailors corrupted the word *Walvisch*—which they heard from some Cape fishermen there—into *Walwich* and *Woolwich*. Some mapmakers took over this corruption, and as *Walwich Bay* it is still often found on charts. When it was annexed to the Cape Colony in 1884, the word underwent another change in the proclamation, and appeared as *Walfish*.

musketry, and turning over a few spades full of soil. Very few natives were seen, and those few could not be communicated with. At Angra Pequena two whalers were found, and from them it was ascertained that in the preceding season thirty ships—half of them American—were engaged in taking whales on the coast, Possession Island being their main station.

The harvest of 1797-8 was a tolerably good one, and food was again at a reasonable price. A contract for the supply of bread to the troops was taken at a penny a pound, and of meat at two pence and two-twenty-thirds of a penny a pound, payable in paper currency at the rate of four shillings for a rixdollar. The government permitted no provisions of any kind to be exported without special leave from the secretary's office; and the prices of cattle and corn, meat and bread, were fixed just as in the olden times. There was an excellent market provided by the shipping, a garrison of five thousand soldiers, and a large naval establishment; and payment for supplies was promptly made by the government; but the farmers had no more liberty of buying and selling than they had under the East India Company.

At this time, and until the close of 1802, the average imports of goods of all kinds were in value 253,927*l.*, and of slaves 44,950*l.* a year. The average exports amounted only in value to 15,047*l.* There was thus a balance of trade against the colony of 283,830*l.* a year, which was met in coin that came into the country chiefly through the military and naval departments.

The revenue rose rapidly after 1796. During the period 1797 to 1802 it was on an average 73,518*l.* a year. The accounts were kept in rixdollars, and the figures here given are obtained by computing the rixdollar at its nominal value of four English shillings. Its real value, as determined by the rate of exchange, fluctuated so much that it is impossible to give statistics with absolute accuracy in English money.

Between the date of the surrender of the colony to the

British forces and the close of the eighteenth century seven hundred and forty-two vessels, exclusive of coasters, touched either at Table Bay or Simon's Bay. Of these, four hundred and fifty-eight were English, one hundred and twenty-four were American, ninety-one were Danish, thirty-four were prizes to English men-of-war, and the remaining thirty-five belonged to various nations. The average number that touched yearly was one hundred and seventy-one.

In 1798 the district of Swellendam was first provided with a clergyman. The reverend Mr. Von Manger, who had retired from Graaff-Reinet, objected to return to his duty there, and in consequence his salary was stopped at the end of June 1797. But in May 1798 he was again taken into service, and was sent to Swellendam, where he commenced duty on the 18th of June. A church-building was erected in the village, and a consistory was formed in the usual manner.

Graaff-Reinet was not left long without a clergyman. In August 1797 the reverend Hendrik Willem Ballot, recently minister at Malacca, arrived in South Africa in a Danish ship from the East Indies, and as he expressed a wish to be employed here, he was shortly afterwards sent to Roodezand to perform the duties temporarily while the reverend Mr. Vos went on a pastoral tour to the eastern frontier. In February 1798 he was appointed permanent minister of Graaff-Reinet.

On the 7th of October 1797 a mutiny broke out in the English men-of-war lying in Simon's Bay. The causes were the same as those which produced the mutiny in the fleet at Spithead—15th April to 15th May of the same year,—an account of which had been received in South Africa. Unfortunately, tidings of the mutiny in the fleet at the Nore—20th May to 15th June,—and of the terribly severe punishment of those who took part in it, had not reached the seamen in Simon's Bay. Three officers were put ashore, but Admiral Pringle—who had succeeded Sir George Elphinstone on the station—was detained on board the *Tremendous*, and was not allowed to send any other than open letters

away. Lord Macartney was preparing to occupy the heights above Simonstown with troops when on the 12th, under promise of a general amnesty, the seamen gave in their submission. But on the 9th of November, when the fleet was in Table Bay, the mutiny broke out again. The admiral was on shore at the time, and he and Lord Macartney at once sent a message to the mutineers that if they did not surrender unconditionally within two hours, fire would be opened upon them from the batteries with red-hot shot. This message had the desired effect. The crew of the flagship *Tremendous* were the first to hoist the signal of submission and send the ringleaders ashore, and their example was followed shortly by the crews of the other ships. The *Crescent* was at anchor off Robben Island, and her crew, not being aware of what had happened, on the 10th of November sent her officers ashore and brought the ship up to the usual anchorage; but the same measure that had been employed against the others secured their surrender also. The punishment which followed was in those days considered moderate, though if inflicted now for a similar offence it would be regarded as unnecessarily severe.

In giving an account of these occurrences to the secretary of state, Lord Macartney wrote that 'from the most minute investigation of the second mutiny he could not discover that there was the shadow of a grievance to be pleaded in its alleviation.' The character of his government cannot be better exemplified than by this sentence. There is no special information in the Cape records concerning the seamen in Admiral Pringle's fleet; but there is only one opinion now: that throughout the British navy at that time the sailors had many and serious grievances. If nothing else, a considerable number of those in the fleet on the Cape station were pressed men, taken out of merchant ships—whether they were willing or not—in exchange for others obtained from prizes. But in Lord Macartney's opinion that was not a grievance. With men of their class he had very little sympathy indeed.

And Barrow, the writer who could not find words too

strong to express the cruelty of colonists towards their Hottentot dependents, quotes Lord Macartney's letter upon the mutiny with approbation. It seems never to have occurred to him that the sailors in the king's ships were quite as badly treated as the Hottentots, even if all the tales of atrocities on frontier farms that had come to his ears were true.

Lord Macartney was over sixty years of age, and was subject to severe attacks of gout and other diseases. Before leaving England he had stipulated that if he should find it necessary for his health, he might at any time return without waiting for a successor. Major-General Dundas held a commission as lieutenant-governor, and was empowered to carry on the administration whenever the governor was absent. The first summer of Lord Macartney's residence had tried him severely, and as another hot season drew nigh he made up his mind to leave South Africa. On the 20th of November 1798 he embarked in the ship-of-war *Stately*, and the following morning sailed for England. Thereafter until 1803 he drew a pension of 2,000*l.* a year from the revenue of the Cape Colony.

On the 21st of November, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the principal civil and military officers assembled at government house in the garden, when General Dundas caused his commission to be read, and formally assumed the administration as lieutenant and acting governor.

CHAPTER XXIX.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRANCIS DUNDAS, ACTING GOVERNOR,
21 NOVEMBER 1798 TO 9 DECEMBER 1799.

SIR GEORGE YONGE, GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 10 DECEMBER
1799, RECEIVED LETTER OF DISMISSAL 20 APRIL 1801.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRANCIS DUNDAS, ACTING GOVERNOR,
20 APRIL 1801 TO 20 FEBRUARY 1803.

Great fire in Capetown—Insurrection of a party of farmers in Graaff-Reinet—Its suppression by General Vandeleur—Invasion of the colony by a horde of Kosas under the chief Ndlambe—Attack on British troops by the people of Cungwa—Massacre of a party of soldiers—Insurrection of Hottentots in the district of Graaff-Reinet—Progress of the war with the Kosas and Hottentots—Establishment of a kind of truce by Mr. H. Maynier—Erection of Fort Frederick at Algoa Bay—Appointment of Mr. Maynier as commissioner for the districts of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet—Account of the Namaqua captain Afrikaner—Dealings with Bushmen on the northern frontier—Establishment of missions by the London Society—Shipwrecks in Table Bay—Arrival of Governor Sir George Yonge—Trial of the leading European insurgents of Graaff-Reinet—Creation of an agricultural department of the Cape government—Bad seasons and consequent scarcity of grain—Commencement of the publication of a *Government Gazette*—Unpopularity of Sir George Yonge—His recall—Assumption of duty as acting governor by Major-General Dundas—Inquiry into Sir George Yonge's conduct—Scandalous disclosures regarding his administration—Condition of the district of Graaff-Reinet—Armed opposition to the commissioner Maynier—Recall of Maynier—Resumption of open hostilities with the Kosas and Hottentots—Death in battle of Commandant Tjaart van der Walt—Conclusion of peace with the Kosas and Hottentots—Expedition to the Betschuana country—Fall of rock from Table Mountain—Ecclesiastical matters—Preliminary articles of peace between France and England, providing for the restoration of the Cape Colony to the Batavian Republic—Form of government of the colony decided upon by the states-general—Signing of the treaty of Amiens—Appointment of Mr. J. A. de Mist as high commissioner and of General J. W. Janssens as governor—Troops destined for the garrison of the colony—Arrival of the Batavian officials—Arrangements for the transfer of the colony—Delay caused by orders from England—Completion of the transfer.

SHORTLY after the direction of affairs was assumed by Major-General Dundas, some of the farmers of Graaff-Reinet rose in insurrection. It is not unlikely that they would

have done so at an earlier date, had it not been for the fear produced by the strong body of troops kept at the Cape. That fear was now to some extent removed.

During the night of the 22nd of November 1798 a fire broke out in the dragoon stables in Capetown, which were roofed with thatch. A violent south-east wind caused the flames to spread to the adjoining buildings, notwithstanding vigorous efforts were made to stop them. The fire was at length got under by destroying a row of houses in advance of it, and saturating the ruins and buildings beyond with water; but there was great destruction of government property. The coal sheds, the timber yard, the commissariat magazines, and the victuallers' warehouses were consumed with their contents. Seventy-two dragoon horses were burned to death. All the naval and military stores in the colony, except a very small quantity in Simonstown, were destroyed. This disaster was magnified by rumour, and the farmers on the frontier believed that the army was made almost powerless by it.

The arrest of the old commandant Adriaan van Jaarsveld on a charge of forgery was the immediate cause of the outbreak. Van Jaarsveld owed the orphan chamber money to the amount of 733*l.*, for which he had given a bond upon the premises on his farm Vrede. The interest was paid only to the 31st of December 1791, but when in March 1798 he was called upon to make good the whole debt, he produced a receipt for the interest to the 31st of December 1794. He was then summoned by the high court of justice to appear on the 29th of November to answer to the charge of falsifying the receipt by changing the figure 1 into 4, and as he did not obey, the fiscal issued instructions to Landdrost Bresler to cause him to be apprehended and sent to Capetown.

On the 17th of January 1799 Van Jaarsveld, who was ignorant of the fiscal's order, visited the drostdy of Graaff-Reinet, where he was arrested, and next morning he was sent away in a waggon under charge of a sergeant and two dragoons. Mr. Oertel, secretary of the district,

who had business to transact in Capetown, was also with the party. On the 19th the landdrost was informed that an attempt to rescue the prisoner would probably be made, and he therefore sent a corporal and four dragoons to strengthen the guard. But on the 21st these men returned to the drostdy with a letter from Secretary Oertel, informing the landdrost that there was no cause to suspect interference.

Meantime news of Van Jaarsveld's arrest had been conveyed to Marthinus Prinsloo, at the Boschberg, who at once called out a number of men to rescue him. About forty responded, and on the 21st they overtook the waggon and demanded that the prisoner should be released. Mr. Oertel and the three dragoons complied, as resistance was out of the question. On the 16th of February the secretary reached Capetown, and reported what had occurred.

After releasing Van Jaarsveld, the party under Marthinus Prinsloo marched back, and encamped about a mile from the drostdy. There they were joined by some farmers from the Zwartkops river and the border of the Zuurveld, who brought up their number to about one hundred and fifty men.

The landdrost sent the heemraden Hermanus Olivier and Andries Smit to inquire what their object was in appearing there with weapons in their hands. Marthinus Prinsloo and three others then went to the drostdy, and informed Mr. Bresler that the fear of being arrested as Van Jaarsveld had been was the cause of their taking up arms. They would not believe that Van Jaarsveld had been apprehended on a charge of setting the summons of the high court of justice at defiance, but insisted that the real reason was the part he had acted in former years.

The farmers of the Sneeuwberg and generally of the north-western portion of the district now declared themselves on the side of the government, which greatly disconcerted the insurgents. Leaving thirty men at the camp to blockade the drostdy, they dispersed; but on the 28th of January most of them assembled again on Prinsloo's farm.

There they were joined by Jan Botha and Coenraad du Buis, two men who were living with the Kaffirs, and who were believed to have great influence with the young chief Gaika. Du Buis had been outlawed by the government, on account of his continuing to live in Kaffirland in defiance of an order to return to the colony. He was a man of great bodily vigour, and was by no means wanting in intellect, but was utterly devoid of morality. Among his female companions was the mother of Gaika, and this connection was the chief source of his influence in the colony as well as in Kaffirland, for it caused the colonists to believe that his power was considerable.

Prinsloo and Du Buis now sent our circulars, calling upon the farmers of the district to assemble in arms at the drostdy on the 12th of February. But as many of those to whom the circulars were sent announced that they had no intention of joining the insurrection, and the commandants Hendrik van Rensburg and Thomas Dreyer declaring themselves on the side of the government, the meeting did not take place.

On the 17th of February about one hundred men assembled at the farm of Barend Burger. The reverend Mr. Ballot was there, and tried to persuade them to return to their homes, but they did not seem disposed to listen to his advice. They dispersed indeed, but with the understanding that they should meet again at Koega in a few days, and form a camp there to prevent the landing of troops at Algoa Bay.

On the 20th of February the thirty men who were blockading the drostdy entered the village and threatened violence, but the reverend Mr. Ballot persuaded them to retire quietly. The dragoons—only eight in number—under Sergeant Maxwell Irwin, stood firm on this occasion. They hoisted the English flag, and drew up under it, announcing that if attacked they would defend themselves to the last.

The rescue of Van Jaarsveld was reported to General Dundas on the 16th of February, and next morning Brigadier-General Thomas Vandeleur with a strong detach-

ment of dragoons left Capetown to march overland to Graaff-Reinet. Two vessels—the brigs *Hope* and *Star*—were ordered to proceed to Algoa Bay, and in them were embarked two companies of the 98th regiment and the Hottentot corps. The *Star* arrived at Algoa Bay on the 2nd of March, and the *Hope* on the 8th. The troops were landed without delay, and on the 14th commenced the march to the village of Graaff-Reinet.

General Vandeleur found the people in the eastern part of the district of Swellendam in strong sympathy with the insurgents of Graaff-Reinet. Disaffection in fact existed all along the coast east of the present village of George. The general issued orders that every man should remain upon his own farm, under penalty of being treated as a traitor if found beyond it, and he stationed some dragoons in a position that commanded the eastern road. Pushing on with the remainder of his detachment, he joined the troops landed at Algoa Bay, and on the 20th of March reached the drostdy of Graaff-Reinet. On the same day fifty-three farmers from the Sneeuwberg joined the English forces. The insurgents had not ventured to make a stand, and indeed their number was too small to do so, for only about one hundred and thirty men assembled at Koega.

The English general had with him the Hottentot regiment. Tidings of the presence of these new soldiers spread rapidly through the district, and the people of their blood who were in service with the farmers, believing the strife to be one between colonists and Hottentots, rose upon their employers, seized all the guns, ammunition, and clothing they could lay their hands upon, and joined the British forces. About a hundred of the young men enlisted in the Hottentot regiment, and five or six times that number of men, women, and children threw themselves under the protection of the army. This tended so greatly to discourage the farmers who were with Marthinus Prinsloo that they gave up all idea of resistance.

On the 24th of March Willem Prinsloo, junior, and Daniel Liebenberg arrived at the drostdy, and presented to

General Vandeleur a petition from the insurgents, begging for pardon. The general gave them a reply in writing, that they must lay down their arms before he would have any dealings with them, and that those who chose to do so could meet him on the 6th of April at the house of Willem Prinsloo, senior, at the Boschberg.

Four days later General Vandeleur with all the troops, except thirty men left at the drostdy as a garrison, set out for the Boschberg. Landdrost Bresler accompanied him. A party of soldiers was sent to arrest Adriaan van Jaarsveld and his son Zacharias, and made prisoners of them without resistance.

On the 6th of April one hundred and thirteen of the insurgents, commanded by Marthinus Prinsloo, appeared at the place appointed, and laid down their arms before the troops. There was no promise of pardon in the document that General Vandeleur had sent to them, but they were under the impression that pardon was implied in its terms, and therefore remonstrated when they were placed under guard. The general caused a short investigation to be made, and then offered forgiveness to the ninety-three whom he considered least guilty, upon their paying a fine or furnishing one or two horses. The offer was gladly accepted, and these prisoners were then released. The remaining twenty were sent to Algoa Bay, where they were put on board the *Rattlesnake*, a ship-of-war that had brought from the Cape a detachment of the 81st regiment. On the 12th of June they arrived in Table Bay, and were immediately placed in close confinement in the castle.

Within a few days twenty-two others came in, and were pardoned. Twenty-seven of the insurgents, however, did not make their appearance, so on the 22nd of April General Vandeleur issued a proclamation calling upon them to surrender themselves at the farm of Thomas Ignatius Ferreira, at the Zwartkops river, on the 3rd of May. Several of them did so, but the others fled into Kaffirland. On the 24th of May General Vandeleur offered a reward of 200*l.* for each of the following, dead or alive: Coenraad du Buis, Jan Botha,

Christoffel Botha, Frans Kruger, Jan Knoetsen, Coenraad Bezuidenhout, and Jan Steenberg. All of these were then in Kaffirland, where they had been joined by nine deserters from the English army. They tried to make their way to some distant tribe, but were turned back by the Tembus, and remained for several years under Gaika's protection.

While these events were taking place, the colony was invaded by a horde of Kosas. In February 1799 Ndlambe made his escape from the kraal of his nephew Gaika, and was joined by a great many people, who crossed the Fish river with him and spread over the Zuurveld. All the clans in that district, with the exception of the Gunukwebes under Cungwa, at once allied themselves with the powerful refugee. Between Ndlambe and Gaika a fresh quarrel had arisen, which greatly increased the bitterness caused by their former struggle for power. The old chief had recently added to his establishment a girl named Tutula, who was regarded as the beauty of Kaffirland; and Gaika had enticed her to himself. The Bantu in general regard impurity very lightly, but by the coast tribes chastity is strictly observed within certain degrees of relationship. In this matter Gaika offended the prejudices of his people, with the result that many thousands went over to Ndlambe.

Before this invasion a large portion of the Zuurveld was in occupation of the Kosa clans who remained there when open hostilities ceased in November 1793. But some parts of it were inhabited by farmers, and the border north and west was in possession of white men. As the horde under Ndlambe advanced, all who were in or near the line of march took to flight, some losing all they had, others who could gather their cattle driving them off and abandoning everything else.

General Vandeleur had no intention of employing British soldiers against the Kosas, and he did not anticipate that they would commence hostilities against him without provocation. After receiving the submission of the great majority of the farmers who had been in arms, he collected the troops that were posted in different parts of the district,

and marched towards Algoa Bay, with the intention of returning to Capetown. But at the Sunday river the column was unexpectedly attacked by Cungwa's followers, who believed that an attempt was about to be made to drive them over the Fish river. The Gunukwebes were concealed in a thicket through which the troops were passing, and poured in a shower of assagais from the shelter of trees, but did not expose themselves or continue the contest long.

Twenty men of the 81st regiment, under Lieutenant Chumney, had previously been sent to reconnoitre the country towards the coast, and, fearing for their safety, General Vandeleur now fell back to the Bushman's river, to enable them to join the column again. A temporary camp was hardly formed when an attack was made upon it by Cungwa's people, who on this occasion exhibited great bravery, rushing forward in masses with their assagai shafts broken short so that they could be used as stabbing weapons. These charges were met with volleys of musket balls and grape shot, that covered the ground with bodies, until at length the Gunukwebes turned and fled.

Meantime Lieutenant Chumney's party was surrounded, and, after making a desperate defence, all were killed except four men who managed to escape in a waggon. When these reached the main column the general resumed his march to the neighbourhood of Algoa Bay, and, after sending the larger portion of his force back to Capetown, he formed a camp on the farm of Thomas Ignatius Ferreira. In the month of May he called out two large burgher commandos to take the field against the Kosas: one from the district of Swellendam, under Commandant Tjaart van der Walt, the other from the district of Graaff-Reinet, under Commandant Hendrik van Rensburg.

While the commandos were assembling, a number of farmers appealed to the general for assistance against their late Hottentot servants. Many of these were roaming about the district, but several hundreds were at the British camp. General Vandeleur considered it prudent to take from those who were under his immediate protection the

guns which they had carried off from their employers, and this excited their suspicion that he was about to betray them. Before the burgher commandos arrived they fled, and forming themselves into three bands led respectively by the captains Klaas Stuurman, Hans Trompetter, and Boesak, they joined the Kosa invaders.

At the beginning of June the burghers mustered at the Bushman's river, provided for a campaign of two months. It was General Vandeleur's intention that they should drive the Kosas over the Fish river, but not follow them across; and to this effect he prepared instructions, which he submitted to General Dundas.

The acting governor approved of this line of action; but urged the general to do his utmost to prevent prolonged hostilities, and 'by conciliatory means, by ambassadors, by presents, and by promises, to endeavour to impress the king or great chief of the Kaffir nation with confidence that the government wished to maintain peace.' The great chief of the tribe at this time was Kawuta, but Gaika was the person referred to by General Dundas, and as the head of the invading horde was at feud with him, the negotiations which General Vandeleur opened upon receipt of these orders were a failure. The commandos, however, were dispirited by being kept waiting, and the Kosas came to believe that the white men were afraid to attack them. They and the insurgent Hottentots then overran and pillaged the whole frontier.

On the 22nd of July a horde of combined Kosas and Hottentots crossed the Gamtoos river, and ravaged the Longkloof upwards for many miles. From several of the farmhouses the owners had not time to escape, and eleven white men and four white women were murdered. Twelve women and children were made prisoners, but during the night they were permitted to walk away, and they wandered about for nearly a fortnight before they were rescued.

On the 29th of July Landdrost Bresler reported that nearly the whole district of Graaff-Reinet was in possession of the Hottentots and Kaffirs. He was apprehensive that

an attack would be made upon the drostdy, then protected only by a company of soldiers under Lieutenant Lynden.

The families of the burghers were now, however, safe in lagers, and every man who could be spared from their defence was in the field. But instead of acting in unison, the farmers were fighting in little parties, each on its own account. Often these parties were too small to attack the enemy, and in one instance, in an engagement on the left bank of the Sunday river, a commando of considerable strength was defeated, when five men were killed and over a hundred horses—most of them saddled—were driven off.

At the close of July matters were in a deplorable condition. Twenty-nine white people had lost their lives, there was hardly a house left standing east of the Gamtoos, and nearly all the horses, horned cattle, and sheep were in the hands of the Kosas and Hottentots. Great herds of horned cattle had been driven over the Fish river, and many of the farmers' oxen and cows were now in Gaika's kraals. The Kosa clans, except the immediate retainers of Ndlambe, were willing to share with Gaika the spoil of the white man, and so he acted the part known to these people as 'the bush,' that is he professed to be sitting still in order that he might protect the plunder. The farmers were not deceived, but the government credited him with too much honesty to be capable of doing anything of the kind.

On the 7th of August General Dundas set out for the frontier, to take the direction of affairs there in person, leaving Brigadier-General Henry Fraser to act for him at Capetown. At the same time a large burgher commando was called out in each of the districts of Stellenbosch and Swellendam, and fifty dragoons with some companies of the 61st and 81st regiments were ordered to the front. As yet the troops had taken very little part in the war, but it was now intended to employ them to assist the burghers if peace could not be made.

General Dundas was exceedingly desirous of coming to terms with the Kosas and Hottentots. He stated his opinion that the expulsion of the Kosas who had invaded

the colony was justifiable defensive warfare, but that hostilities with them were to be deplored on the ground of humanity and as tending to increase the bitterness of feeling between the two races. As for the Hottentot insurgents, they were the descendants of the original occupiers of the country, and deserved on that account to be very tenderly dealt with. In order to try if an amicable settlement could not be arrived at, he took with him Mr. Honoratus Maynier, who had managed to secure his confidence. Maynier asserted that his influence with Ndlambe and with the Hottentots of Graaff-Reinet was so great that he felt sure he could induce them to agree to a reasonable peace, and he was so plausible that the acting governor gladly made use of his services.

On the 10th of August, before General Dundas and Mr. Maynier reached Swellendam on their way to the scene of disturbances, a great horde of Kosas and Hottentots appeared in the neighbourhood of the camp at Ferreira's, and got possession of most of the slaughter and draught oxen belonging to the commissariat; but they were followed up, and the cattle were recovered. General Vandeleur was so irritated by this occurrence that he caused a Kosa spy, who was detected in the camp on the following day, to be hanged 'as an example to the savages.'

In the beginning of September General Dundas arrived on the frontier, and shortly afterwards Mr. Maynier commenced to treat with the Kaffirs and Hottentots for peace. A considerable military force under General Vandeleur, and three strong divisions of burghers from the districts of Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Graaff-Reinet, respectively under Commandants Strydom, Van der Walt, and Van Rensburg, were at the time in the field. There was nothing left to plunder within reach of the insurgents and invaders. Under these circumstances it was an easy matter to persuade the Hottentot and Kosa captains to give their word that they would abstain from further hostilities and not trespass beyond the Zuurveld. They were promised that they would not be molested there, and large presents were made to

them. To the condition of things thus created Mr. Maynier gave the name of peace, and the government gladly consented to the word being used. On the 16th of October it was announced that hostilities were at an end. The hearts of the farmers sank within them, but they were obliged to abide by the decision of the authorities; and thus was established a kind of truce, which was thereafter observed in an indifferent manner.

The commandos were disbanded, and the troops were withdrawn. On a hill overlooking the landing-place at Algoa Bay a wooden blockhouse, prepared in Capetown and sent round by sea in August 1799, was put up, and a stone redoubt eighty feet square was built and named Fort Frederick. Here three hundred and fifty soldiers under command of Major Lemoine were stationed as a garrison, and in the village of Graaff-Reinet a few dragoons and a number—constantly varying—of men of the Hottentot regiment were left. The other troops returned to Capetown.

On the 29th of October General Dundas appointed Mr. Maynier a judge in the high court of justice and bookkeeper of the loan bank, 'as a reward for his very meritorious public services.' And on the 25th of December he had the additional appointment conferred upon him of 'resident commissioner and superintendent of public affairs within the districts of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet,' in which capacity he was invested with 'power and authority to issue such orders and directions as might appear requisite for the good government of the said districts and for the proper administration of justice therein.'

While the eastern part of the colony was in this state of confusion, the northern border was disturbed by the Namaqua captain Afrikaner, the same man who aided the colonists against the Bushmen along the Zak river in 1792. Upon his return to his clan after visiting Capetown in 1793 he resumed hostilities against his former enemies, and rapidly drifted into a state of warfare with all of his neighbours who had property that could be plundered. The first white man murdered by his band was the fieldcornet

Pienaar, who had supplied him with ammunition during the Bushman war.

To his original clan Afrikaner now added a number of vagabonds who were attracted by the prospect of spoil, and in a short time he became a terror to the country far and wide. His stronghold was on an island in the Orange river, and from it bands of his followers made sudden swoops upon places as far distant as two hundred and fifty miles, from which they carried off everything that was valuable. Whoever resisted, whether white man, halfbreed, Hottentot, or slave, paid for the attempt with his life.

There was a party of Hottentots and halfbreeds under a captain named Cornelis Kok, sometimes roaming along the southern bank of the great river, at other times living on a reserve in the Kamiesberg secured to them many years previously by the Cape government, when Adam Kok, the father of Cornelis, gathered them together. This clan was in possession of a good many horned cattle and sheep, and was therefore particularly exposed to Afrikaner's attacks. Kok managed to hold his own, however, until the spring of 1798, when he suffered heavy losses. In December of that year he repaired to Stellenbosch to confer with the landdrost and endeavour to obtain aid to bring the marauders to justice; but it was not possible to assist him then.

In May 1799 the robbers were unusually successful in securing a large booty in cattle, but in doing so they murdered a farmer named Jacob Engelbrecht, a halfbreed, a Hottentot, and two slaves. In the following month Afrikaner sent one of his gang, named Kobus Booy, to Stellenbosch, under pretence of asking for pardon, but it was afterwards strongly suspected that the messenger's real object was to obtain a supply of ammunition. General Dundas refused to pardon the robber captain, and instructed the landdrost to call out a commando against him and set a price upon his head. This was done, but without any good result, as the marauder's retreat could not be reached. After this date, however, Afrikaner's depredations were chiefly confined to the clans beyond the colonial boundary,

though his name remained a terror to the farmers of a large portion of the district of Stellenbosch.

In November 1800 he sent Kobus Booy again to Capetown, professedly to ask that he might be pardoned, but more probably to act as a spy. Sir George Yonge, who was then governor, was disposed to overlook the past in order to prevent greater evils in the future, and forwarded to Afrikaner a safe-conduct for himself and his followers, to hold good for six months, to enable them to visit Capetown and make arrangements by which they could live honestly. To Kobus Booy the farm Klipfontein in Little Namaqualand was given, as an earnest of the governor's desire to provide for their maintenance. But Afrikaner declined the offer, and continued his career as a marauder.

With the Bushmen on the north-eastern frontier there was at this time a cessation of hostilities. In July 1798 Lord Macartney directed the fieldcornets Floris Visser and Jacob Gideon Louw to endeavour to make peace on the basis of furnishing the Bushmen with a supply of breeding cattle and making them periodical presents. The fieldcornets thereupon collected a large number of cows and sheep by means of free gifts from farmers, and they then got together as many Bushmen as they could and submitted the proposal to them. The wild people accepted the offer, and were provided with stock to commence cattle-breeding on their own account, with an assurance that they would not be molested if they would keep on the northern side of the boundary proclaimed by Lord Macartney. In December 1798 this arrangement was reported to the government, and a request was made by Fieldcornet Visser for a supply of trinkets as presents. A quantity of beads, tinderboxes, rings, pocket mirrors, and knives, was at once sent to him for that purpose.

But this scheme, apparently so admirable, soon proved a failure. As the Bushmen were without government, none but those who personally made an agreement and received cattle considered themselves bound by the arrangement, and though for a time it was found possible to supply all who

could be communicated with, the stock of cattle collected by subscription was at length exhausted. Then there was great waste with the new cattle-breeders, and to complete the destruction of the project, the savages farther inland fell upon those who were not living according to the traditions of their race, and plundered them of everything.

In March 1799 the London missionary society commenced its labours in South Africa. Its first agents were the reverend Dr. J. T. Vanderkemp, the reverend J. J. Kicherer, and Messrs. James Edmonds and William Edwards, who took passage from England in the *Hillsborough*, a convict ship bound to Botany Bay. They received a warm welcome from many of the residents in Capetown, and a South African missionary society, which is still in existence, was formed with a view of assisting in the conversion of the heathen. Within a few weeks after their arrival the two laymen were ordained in the church at Roodezand.

Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Edmonds proceeded to Kaffirland, and attempted to form a station close to Gaika's kraal; but after a short time Mr. Edmonds abandoned the effort and went to India. Dr. Vanderkemp remained behind, though he found the Kosas indisposed to listen to his exhortations. The European renegades at Gaika's kraal, being quite incapable of appreciating his work, also gave him much annoyance, till at length, after a residence of over a year, he left Kaffirland and retired to Graaff-Reinet, where he commenced to instruct the Hottentots in the truths of Christianity.

In the roll of prominent men in South Africa before 1820 there is no one who has been more lauded by one party or more decried by another than this missionary, the London society's most conspicuous agent in the country for many years. He had once been an officer in the Dutch army, and afterwards a physician of eminence. When past middle life he abandoned comfort and competence in Europe that he might carry the gospel to the heathen. But no one could be less practical in general conduct, or less conciliatory towards those who were not in full accord with him. He

took no pains to give other instruction than in religious doctrine, thus placing himself in striking contrast with the Moravian brethren. A great and sudden domestic bereavement seems to have disturbed the balance of his mind, for eccentricity is too mild a word to use with regard to some of his habits. One of his maxims was that to secure the confidence of savages it was necessary to conform to such of their customs as were not sinful, and at a little later date this man, who had moved in refined circles in Europe, actually purchased a black slave girl, whom he married and lived with in a style hardly differing from that of people of her race.

Mr. Kicherer was a clergyman of the reformed church of Holland. He and Mr. Edwards went northward to try to form a mission station among the Bushmen on the Zak river.

These pioneers were speedily reinforced by many others from England and Holland. A society was established at Rotterdam, which sent out agents to coöperate with those of the London mission, and soon there were several stations beyond the northern border and quite a number of evangelists instructing the coloured people within the colonial limits.

In the afternoon of the 5th of November 1799 a heavy north-west gale set into Table Bay, an unusual event at that period of the year. Among the vessels at anchor was the English ship of the line *Sceptre*, carrying sixty-four guns, and, all told, a complement of four hundred and ninety-one souls. At noon the *Sceptre* fired the number of guns usual in commemoration of the discovery of the gunpowder plot, and some of her officers and sailors then went ashore. A little after dark the ship began to drag her anchors, upon which others were dropped, and when all these failed to hold, a couple of cannon were attached to cables and lowered. The *Sceptre* slowly drifted in, and struck on a ledge of rocks close to Fort Knokke, where she went to pieces immediately. Next morning the beach was covered with her fragments and with the bodies of her captain, eleven officers, and nearly three hundred seamen and marines who perished with her.

The *Oldenburgh*, a Danish ship of the line, of sixty-four guns, parted soon after the *Sceptre*. Instead of dropping other anchors, she set her head sails and steered for a sandy beach, upon which she was cast; and though the ship was lost, the lives of all on board were saved. The same course was followed by the English whaler *Sierra Leone*, the American ships *Hannah* and *Anubis*, and three small craft, all of which were lost, but their crews got safely to land.

Upon the retirement of Lord Macartney, the king's ministers selected as governor of the Cape Colony an old baronet named Sir George Yonge. The grounds upon which the appointment was made are uncertain, as the new governor, though he had filled important situations, had never displayed any ability of a high order. From 1754 to 1794 he had represented Honiton in the house of commons. He had been vice-treasurer of Ireland, a lord commissioner of the admiralty, from 1784 to 1794 one of the secretaries at war, and more recently master of the mint. He may therefore have had a claim to a lucrative appointment, but this is mere conjecture. On the 9th of December 1799 he arrived in Table Bay in the ship-of-war *Lancaster*, and at eleven o'clock on the following morning, in presence of all the officials and people of note in the town, he took the oaths of office. General Dundas was still on the frontier.

Owing to various causes, the prisoners who were sent away from the Boschberg on the 6th of April 1799 were not brought to trial before August 1800. For nearly fifteen months they had been in confinement in the castle, and in those days the treatment of prisoners was very different from what it is now. These men, whose early lives had been passed in active exercise in the open air, suffered severely from the scanty prison diet and the closeness of their quarters. With them were detained a number of persons charged with political offences, and in one apartment eighty-six prisoners were locked up at night. It was rarely that any of their friends could obtain permission to visit them. Many of their relatives, various people in Capetown, and even the burgher senate, from time to time

sent petitions to the government, begging that they might receive less rigorous treatment; but the authorities thought that an example was necessary, and held that, considering the crime with which they were charged, they were being very leniently dealt with.

The members of the high court of justice who sat upon this trial were Mr. Olof Godlieb de Wet, as president, and Messrs. A. Fleck, C. Matthiessen, H. A. Truter, and J. P. Baumgardt. Mr. W. S. van Ryneveld, as fiscal, conducted the prosecution. One of the prisoners having died, nineteen were put upon their trial. On the 3rd of September judgment was delivered. Marthinus Prinsloo and Adriaan van Jaarsveld were sentenced to death. Cornelis Edeman was sentenced to be flogged on the scaffold, and then to be banished from the colony for life. Theunis Botha, Gerrit Hendrik Rautenbach, Barend Jacobus Bester, Jan Izaak Bonte, Pieter Frederik Rautenbach, Godlieb Koch, Gerrit Scheepers, and Pieter Ignatius van Kamer were sentenced to be struck over the head with a sword, and then to be banished from the colony for life. Lucas Meyer, Zacharias Albertus van Jaarsveld, Willem Grobbelaar, and Jacob Kruger were sentenced to witness the foregoing punishments, and then to be banished from the colony, the first two for life, the last two for ten years. Willem Venter was sentenced to imprisonment for two years, and Paul Venter to imprisonment for one year. Gerrit Botha and Jan Kruger were acquitted, on consideration of having already undergone a long imprisonment.

Sir George Yonge mitigated the sentences of Willem and Paul Venter, by releasing them upon their giving security to appear whenever called upon. Gerrit Botha and Jan Kruger, though acquitted, were required before leaving the prison to take an oath of allegiance to the king of England and to give security for their future good behaviour. The sentence of Cornelis Edeman was ordered to be carried out at once. This man was a schoolmaster, and had written letters exciting the farmers to take up arms. He was flogged on the scaffold, and was sent to New South Wales

as soon as an opportunity occurred. The sentences of the remaining fourteen prisoners were suspended until the pleasure of the king could be made known. Some time afterwards orders were received from the secretary of state that they were to be carried into effect; but General Dundas, who was then again acting as governor, took the responsibility of further postponement, and strongly recommended the prisoners to mercy. By this time a treaty of peace between France and England was concluded, under which the colony was to be restored to its former owners. The prisoners were therefore kept in confinement, with the sentence of the court of justice in suspense, and in that condition were transferred in February 1803 to the Batavian authorities.

Before Sir George Yonge left England an arrangement was made between the secretary of state and himself that an agricultural department was to be added to the Cape government. With which of them the idea originated cannot be ascertained, but at any rate the governor threw himself heartily into the project, and made a very expensive hobby of it. At this time it was supposed that only skill was needed to make South Africa a great corn and wine producing country, from which England could draw large supplies. To encourage the production of brandy and wine, on the 9th of June 1800 the house of commons reduced the duty on Cape brandy entering Great Britain to that on West Indian spirits, and the duty on Cape wines to that on wines from Portugal. But to the taste of the English people the produce of South African vineyards was objectionable, so that this measure had little or no effect. Shortly after his arrival, Sir George Yonge caused a 'society for the encouragement of agriculture, arts, and sciences' to be established, of which he was president and Mr. Barrow secretary; but beyond talking, this society did nothing.

The agricultural department was designed to introduce improved implements and, by means of a model farm, to show the best method of tilling the ground. It was confidently anticipated that the whole expense would be covered

by the crops raised. On the 20th of September 1800 the persons selected to form the department arrived in Table Bay, after a very long passage from England. They were Mr. William Duckitt, superintendent, with a salary of 500*l.* a year, Mr. Iles, assistant, with a salary of 60*l.*, a carpenter and a blacksmith, each with 83*l.* 12*s.*, six husbandmen, each with 81*l.* 10*s.*, one farm boy, with 10*l.*, and one dairywoman, with 10*l.* 10*s.* a year. They brought implements of various kinds with them. Upon their arrival they were placed on the farm Klappmuts, where they were provided with horned cattle, horses, a party of slaves, and everything else necessary for their work and maintenance.

Before this date the ground in South Africa was cultivated in a very rough manner. The plough in use was a heavy wooden implement, with only one handle; and it needed a team of six or eight oxen to draw it. The harrow was equally clumsy, being formed of three blocks of wood attached to each other in the form of a triangle, with strong pegs driven in to scratch the ground. Sometimes a large bush was used. The sheaves were threshed by laying them upon a hard floor enclosed with a circular fence, and driving a troop of horses or young oxen round upon them. Grain was winnowed by throwing it up in the air when the wind was blowing.

Much had been tried of late years to improve the stock of cattle. A fairly good horse for either the saddle or the trace was now common, and there was a healthy spirit of rivalry—especially among young men—as to who should have the best. In horned cattle the aim had been to increase the size and strength of oxen rather than the quantity of milk given by cows. It was the fashion for a young farmer who wished to be thought respectable to take his bride from church in a waggon drawn by a span of fourteen large oxen of the same colour, and to become possessed of such a team was the object of each lad's ambition. Thus anything tending to improve horses and horned cattle met with general approbation. The attempt to introduce woolled sheep, begun some years before, had not succeeded

so well. The tracts of country supposed to be best adapted for sheep runs, and where the experiments were showing most signs of success, had been laid waste. No one had yet thought of endeavouring to keep sheep on the karoo plains all the year round, and those vast tracts of land were only inhabited for a few months during and just after the rainy season, when flocks and herds were driven down from the colder highlands, and their owners lived in great tent-waggons. There were still, however, some woolled sheep in the colony, though they were not increasing in number, and there were no longer any enthusiastic breeders. Some of the best stock had been purchased for exportation, and had been taken to New South Wales. Goats, on the contrary, had been greatly improved in weight of carcase by imported animals, and were much thought of, as they were hardy and thrived where sheep would not.

This was the state of things when the agricultural department was established. The superintendent, Mr. Duckitt, was an enthusiast in the cause of high culture. His father was a well-known writer on subjects relating to farm machinery, and he himself had improved a drill for sowing seed, which was then in general use in England. As soon as he arrived he began to try to persuade the farmers near the Cape to cultivate their ground in the English manner. He succeeded in inducing two or three of the Van Reenens to make the experiment, but all the others held back. Some of them informed him that they would follow his advice as soon as they saw his model farm giving better returns than their own, others tried to argue the matter. They informed him that if God sent abundant rain the land only required to be scratched to yield heavy crops; and if little rain fell, the highest cultivation would be useless, for nothing would grow. Their ploughs and harrows cost hardly anything beyond their own labour, whereas his were expensive. Theirs required more draught cattle than his did; but they were obliged to keep a large number of oxen to take their produce to market, and in seedtime these might as well be working as doing nothing.

The model farm was established at a bad time. The crops since 1798 had been very poor, and such was then the scarcity of grain that on the 4th of December 1800 a stringent proclamation was issued by Sir George Yonge to prevent its exportation or waste. To provide for the requirements of the army, fleet, and townspeople, the farmers were called upon to bring all their wheat to the magazines at Capetown, except sufficient for their own consumption and for seed. The government undertook to pay for the grain so delivered at the rate of 8*l.* 12*s.* in paper for ten muids, from which would be deducted 12*s.* instead of the tithe. Farmers disobeying the order were to forfeit their grain and pay a fine of 100*l.* The government would sell wheat to bakers and to families, according to their needs, at the rate of 9*l.* 2*s.* for ten muids.

The drought continued, and in 1801 it was necessary to import flour and rice to avert a famine. Mr. Duckitt's high culture produced nothing beyond the ordinary tillage of the country, and the farmers observed that it cost much more. In the next year it was nearly the same. By that time over 8,000*l.* had been expended upon the model farm, and there were no returns. In neither of these years, nor in the one that followed, was sufficient food raised for the consumption of the large number of people employed. The experiment was an utter failure, except that it was the means of bringing English ploughs into use to a limited extent, the farmers finding them more economical than the large wooden ones in ground that had been long under cultivation.

During Sir George Yonge's tenure of office as governor an official *Gazette* began to be published. It was at first termed the *Capetown Gazette and African Advertiser*, and was issued weekly by Messrs. Walker and Robertson, merchants at the Cape. It was the organ by which all proclamations and official notices were made public, and for many years it contained also trade advertisements and such general reading matter as the government considered might be safely placed before the people. Very little information

concerning South Africa is to be had from it, however, and even its foreign intelligence is generally limited to matters not political. Shortly after its first appearance—16th of August 1800—Mr. Barrow was appointed censor. From that date until the present time the publication has been continuous.

No man who has ever been at the head of the Cape government has been more generally disliked than Sir George Yonge. In one of his despatches to the secretary of state he reported that the colonists termed him their father; but in truth those who used such language were only a few suppliants for mercy. With the exception of some favourites of his own appointment, he was not on friendly terms with the officers of his government, and he reported of them that the only efficient public servant whom he found here on his arrival was Mr. Hercules Ross. His despatches were read with something like alarm by the secretary of state; and when complaints of his misgovernment, supported by apparently complete proofs of his corruption, were received at the colonial office, the ministry resolved to recall him and make a strict inquiry into his conduct.

On the 20th of April 1801 the *Nutwell* arrived in Table Bay, with despatches dated on the 14th of January, addressed to Sir George Yonge and to Major-General Dundas. Sir George Yonge was informed that Lord Glenbervie had been appointed to succeed him as governor, that he was at once to transfer the administration to Major-General Dundas, and to return to England by the first opportunity. Major-General Dundas was instructed immediately on receipt of the despatch to assume the administration, and to act as governor until the arrival of Lord Glenbervie. The general thereupon called at government house, and informed Sir George Yonge of his instructions. Sir George Yonge desired to retain his position a few days longer—really for the sake of appearance, nominally to put some accounts in order,—but General Dundas would not consent. That afternoon two notices were issued: one by General

Dundas, announcing that in consequence of a despatch from the secretary of state he was then acting governor of the colony; the other by Sir George Yonge, announcing that the king had been pleased to appoint Lord Glenbervie governor of the colony, and had given him permission to transfer the administration to Major-General Dundas and to return to England at once.

Next morning—21st of April—at eleven o'clock the principal civil and military officers assembled at the castle, when General Dundas caused his instructions to be read, and he then took the prescribed oaths as acting governor. Sir George Yonge applied to the admiral on the station for a man-of-war to convey him to England, as was usual with governors of colonies returning home, but had the mortification of meeting with a refusal. On the 29th of May he left in a private ship, to the great satisfaction of nearly every one in the colony.

A commission was appointed to investigate the charges against him, the most serious of which were: That he had increased the taxes, in violation of the terms of the capitulation of September 1795. That he had granted monopolies to improper persons, and had shared the profits with them. That he had taken government slaves from the fortifications, and had given their services to the holders of the monopolies. That he had caused lavish and unnecessary expenditure, and had made improper use of the public money. That he had received from Mr. Hogan, a merchant at the Cape, the sum of 5,000*l.*, and had appropriated it to his own use, in consideration of giving leave to import eight hundred slaves from Mozambique. That he had not prosecuted some persons who illegally obtained two hundred and fifty slaves at Mozambique, ninety of which slaves had died for want of water on the passage to the Cape. There were various other charges of less note.

After investigation, Sir George Yonge was exonerated by the commission of having personally received bribes, and even of having been cognisant of the corruption of the officials who were in his confidence; but a scandalous state

of things was disclosed in regard to his government. He had violated the terms of the capitulation by imposing licences for killing game, by doubling the duty on brandy passing the barrier, and by several other taxes; but this was a very small matter. He had alienated some of the public lands pledged as security for the redemption of the paper money, but no one regarded that as a very great offence. What was brought to light that was really disgraceful was a system of corruption without parallel even in the very worst days of the rule of the East India Company. The only way to get a decision from the governor, or even to communicate with him, was by bribing the favourites about his person. They could procure monopolies, licences to perform illegal acts, protection from punishment for crime, almost anything indeed that one in possession of enormous power could bestow. That they misrepresented matters to the governor was considered sufficient reason to acquit him of criminal conduct, but not of incapacity for high office. Among other disclosures, it was proved that the slave trade with Mozambique was being actively carried on, though that trade was supposed to be almost restricted to the west coast.¹ The method of conducting it was to obtain letters of marque for a privateer, and then to represent slaves brought in by such a vessel as having been captured from the enemy.

After the arrangement of Mr. Maynier which was called the conclusion of peace, the district of Graaff-Reinet remained in a very wretched condition. The upper field-cornetcies were again occupied by farmers, but the heavy losses of cattle were not made good, and poverty and distress were general. In addition to other troubles, towards the close of the year 1799 locusts in vast swarms made their appearance, and ate off every green thing, so that even the game disappeared. In February 1800 heavy rains fell, and great flocks of locust-birds came from some unknown place in the north and speedily devoured the destructive insects.

¹ The object of the British government in prohibiting trade with the east coast was to prevent the French from getting supplies of provisions there.

But the game did not return for a long time, and many families who had few or no domestic cattle to depend upon were in consequence actually in want of food. The country in the neighbourhood of the Kosa and Hottentot kraals was nearly uninhabited, as neither life nor property was safe there.

To the farmers it seemed as if justice, as well as order, had fled from the land. It was of no use for them to bring charges against coloured people before the commissioner Maynier, for no matter how good their case might be, he would not give a decision in their favour. He reported to General Dundas that the Kosas and the Hottentots were behaving themselves very well. But for the colonists in the district he had no good word, and on their part it is not too much to say that they considered his presence a greater evil even than that of the Kaffir horde. They blamed him for all the misery they were enduring, and certainly laid much more to his charge than they should have done.

There was one thing that irritated them exceedingly. The original church in the village of Graaff-Reinet had been destroyed by fire early in 1799, but in the midst of all their troubles they had put up another building for the worship of God, and it was now being used as a barrack for the pandours. General Dundas could not enter into their feelings with regard to this matter, though he expressed regret that the officer in command was obliged to make use of the church. He said that it was a necessity to have shelter for the Hottentot soldiers, and there was no other building available; that it was cleaned out and the Hottentots withdrawn from it some time before the hour for divine service; and that he would cause a proper barrack to be built as soon as possible. He could not comprehend why the colonists, who were of all men the least given to attach sanctity to human productions, objected so strongly to a very plain and poor building being occupied by the Hottentot soldiers, when they would have occupied it themselves, or have stored goods in it, without the slightest hesitation. But their view was that the church was being

polluted by the heathen, and this was also set down to Maynier's account, though in reality he had nothing to do with it.

In July 1801 the heads of families in the district were called upon to appear at the drostdy and give in the usual census returns. Instead of doing so, on the 20th of the month those who had formerly occupied farms in the Zuurveld, together with those of Bruintjes Hoogte and the fieldcornetcy of Zwartkops River, appeared in arms and demanded the removal of Maynier and the Hottentot soldiers. They expected to be joined by the people of the other parts of the district, but were disappointed, as only a few men came to their assistance.

The dragoons and the Hottentot soldiers were prepared to receive them, and throughout the day some shots were fired on both sides, but without anyone being hurt. In the evening Maynier offered pardon to all who would retire, and during the night the insurgents withdrew, though a large party of them kept together in arms beyond the Bamboes mountains.

General Dundas confirmed the pardon promised by Maynier, and appointed Dr. William Somerville joint commissioner in Graaff-Reinet, empowering him and Maynier to suspend the civil authority and enforce martial law in such parts of the district as they might think necessary. Dr. Somerville, however, did not take up the appointment.

For a few weeks after this there was no commotion, but early in October a large armed party appeared before the drostdy again. The officer in command of the troops intrenched his force and prepared for defence, after burning down one of the public buildings by which his position was overlooked.

General Dundas hereupon sent Major Sherlock, of the 8th light dragoons, with three hundred men, selected from his own regiment, the artillery corps, and the 91st infantry, by sea to Algoa Bay, and instructed him to march to Graaff-Reinet as speedily as possible. Petitions and letters representing Maynier's conduct in the most unfavourable light,

and imploring that he might be recalled, were pouring in, and General Dundas observed that most of these were from people who were staunch upholders of law and order. Among them was a letter from the reverend Mr. Vos, of Roodezand, who was on a pastoral tour to the frontier, and who was one of the warmest adherents of the English government in South Africa. Another was a letter from Commandant Tjaart van der Walt, of the Swellendam district, making many and grievous charges against the commissioner. A third was a strongly-worded document to the same effect, signed by the best men of the Sneeuwberg, Gough, and Nieuwveld. These documents could not be disregarded, coming from such sources, and besides it was evident that Maynier was unable to suppress the insurrection, which had drawn into its vortex even such a man as the able and law-abiding commandant Hendrik van Rensburg. General Dundas therefore recalled Maynier, and announced that the charges against him would be investigated. Mr. Bresler and the heemraden were instructed to resume their ordinary duties, which had been for some time suspended. And Major Sherlock, Major Abercrombie, and Lieutenant Smyth were appointed a commission to take over the chief civil authority in the district of Graaff-Reinet and to inquire into the cause of the disturbances.

Major Sherlock arrived at Graaff-Reinet on the 29th of November. He found the country between Algoa Bay and the drostdy quite deserted, and the inhabitants of the district to a man under arms. The garrison of the village was holding out, but had then been four days without bread. Bands of Hottentots were marching up and down, wherever they chose, plundering whatever still remained. During the night of the 6th of November the heemraad Stephanus Naude and his wife had been murdered on their farm twelve miles from the village. The camp of the insurgent burghers was so situated that the drostdy was closely invested.

Having ascertained the condition of affairs, Major Sherlock sent a dragoon to the farmers' camp, offering a full and free pardon to all who would return to their allegiance, with

protection of their persons and properties, inviting them at the same time to make him acquainted with their real grievances, which would be redressed by the government. He demanded a positive and immediate answer. The farmers, being informed that Maynier was no longer in power, at once sent Fieldcornet Erasmus and Jacobus Kruger to state that they had no complaint against the government, but were in arms solely to drive the late commissioner away. Several of them followed the messengers into the British camp, others went back to their farms without delay, and before nightfall on the 30th all had dispersed and the insurrection was at an end. On that day one hundred and forty-seven Hottentots came in and enlisted as soldiers.

A commission, consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Dickens and Messrs. Acheson Maxwell and Clement Matthiessen, was appointed to investigate the complaints against Maynier. Some of the charges were preposterous, such as that he had incited the Hottentots and Kaffirs to rob and murder the Europeans. Others, such as that he had applied the district funds to his own purposes, were easily shown to be without foundation. In this last case, he had collected money and expended it in the repair of public buildings, but disdained to give that explanation to the farmers, and neglected to make an entry of it in the district books. Other charges were for acts performed in accordance with the wishes of the government. Altogether, he was much too able intellectually for uneducated farmers to contend with, so that in June 1802 the commission acquitted him of all the charges brought against him, and decided that he had conducted himself upon every occasion as an upright and honest man. While the investigation was pending, he had been suspended from acting as a member of the high court of justice; but upon his acquittal he was requested to resume that duty, and soon afterwards was awarded by General Dundas a sum of one thousand pounds from the colonial treasury as compensation for his losses and expenses.

The government now saw fit to take measures for reducing to order the Hottentots who were roaming about the country. An arrangement was made with the reverend Dr. Vanderkemp, who was residing in the village of Graaff-Reinet, that a location should be provided for as many of the Hottentots as might choose to settle in it, where he could carry on mission work among them. On the 27th of November 1801 instructions were issued to Landdrost Bresler to select a suitable site for a temporary location near Algoa Bay. The government undertook to send a supply of rice and other provisions for the maintenance of the Hottentots until they could obtain food from gardens, and to furnish them with seed wheat and implements for cultivating the ground.

The landdrost selected the farm once occupied by Theunis Botha, on the Zwartkops river; and Dr. Vanderkemp, having collected a large number of Hottentots at Graaff-Reinet, left that village with them to proceed to the place appointed. On the way many of them deserted, but he reached the location with several hundred women and children and a few men.

At the same time two hundred burghers of Swellendam were summoned to take the field under Commandant Tjaart van der Walt, for the purpose of assisting the people of Graaff-Reinet to recover the cattle that had been stolen from them and to punish the marauders who would not consent to retire to the location. Instead of two hundred, only eighty-eight appeared at the appointed time, and six of these deserted immediately. Leaving sixteen men to guard a camp which he formed at Winterhoek, with the remaining sixty-six Van der Walt marched to Roodewal, beyond the Sunday river, where on the 13th of February 1802 he attacked a kraal of the banditti. In the onset his only son received a mortal wound. The thoughts of the dying man turned to his home and to her who would soon be his widow. The brave old commandant bade the youth—who was only twenty-one years of age—take comfort in the assurance that God would provide for the loved

one, then hastily offering up a short prayer, he proceeded with his duty. The robbers were beaten, and twelve firelocks, two hundred head of horned cattle, and five horses were taken as spoil.

After the action Van der Walt tried to return to his camp, but found the Sunday river so full that he could not cross. On its bank he was in turn attacked by the banditti, who were led by Klaas Stuurman. For a day and a half he stood on the defensive, during which time three Hottentots were killed. Stuurman then sent to propose peace on condition that the farmers should restore the cattle and guns captured by them on the 13th, and that the Hottentots should engage to cease from roaming about and plundering. Van der Walt agreed to these terms, and everything was given up; but an hour afterwards the Hottentots attacked him again. By this time the river was fordable, and as the burghers were too few in number to keep the field, they returned to the camp at Winterhoek, losing one man on the way. On the 23rd the puny force was disbanded.

The whole colony was now in a state of alarm. It was feared that the Hottentot soldiers would desert and join their countrymen, and any trifling event was sufficient to cause a panic. Thus on the 18th of April, as the reverend Mr. Vos, who was about to proceed to Europe, was preaching his farewell sermon in the church at Roodezand to an audience in which were some five hundred men, an alarm was given that a party of Hottentots was in sight. There was a rush from the building, and in the frantic haste to get out the windows were broken open. The Hottentots were found to be a company of pandours sent to patrol the district, but this was not calculated to allay the fear of the people.

On the 15th of December 1801 intelligence was received at the Cape that preliminary articles of peace between France and England had been signed at London on the 1st of October, and that the restoration of the colony to the Netherlands—then the Batavian Republic—was one of the conditions. General Dundas was therefore anxious that the

country should assume such an appearance of order as would allow of its transfer with credit to the British authorities. To bring this about, attempts were renewed in March and April to induce the Hottentots to settle at the location on the Zwartkops river; and, when these failed, efforts were made to get a burgher force together.

On the 7th of May a proclamation was issued by the acting governor, requiring the whole of the farmers of the districts of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet to take the field on the 1st of June against the Hottentot and Kosa marauders. The latter had recently been unusually active. Tjaart van der Walt was to lead the burgher force, though operations were to be directed by Major Francis Sherlock, the officer in command of the garrison at the village of Graaff-Reinet.

At this time so great was the distress of the frontier farmers that many were in want of the barest necessities of life, and the government, fearing that actual starvation was imminent, sent a quantity of rice to Algoa Bay to be distributed among them.

On learning that a large force was being assembled, Klaas Stuurman applied to the government, through the reverend Dr. Vanderkemp, to know on what terms his submission would be accepted. General Dundas replied on the 28th of May, requesting Dr. Vanderkemp to inform Stuurman and the other captains that unless the Hottentots would consent to the following conditions, their kraals on the Sunday river would be attacked by the commando:

1. They were to make complete restitution of all the stolen cattle that were still alive. The cattle were to be sent to Fort Frederick to be restored to their owners by Major Lemoine.

2. They were to surrender at Fort Frederick all the arms and ammunition in their possession.

3. The men were then either to enlist as soldiers, to engage themselves to the farmers, or to take up their residence at the mission station, as they might choose.

4. All the Hottentots of either sex at the mission

station would be fed and sustained by the government for one year, and none would be molested for past conduct except the actual murderers of two families named Naude and Van Rooyen, who were excluded from the general pardon. They would be supplied free of cost with ground, farming implements, and seed corn.

The operations of the commando were suspended until Dr. Vanderkemp could communicate the result of this offer, but as Stuurman and the other captains rejected it, in June 1802 the burgher forces under Commandant Tjaart van der Walt attacked the combined Kosa and Hottentot hordes, who were posted in thickets along the Sunday river. During eight weeks there was almost constant skirmishing, in which the burghers suffered some losses, but about two hundred and thirty of the marauders were killed, and thirteen thousand one hundred head of horned cattle were recovered and sent to Brintjes Hoogte for distribution.

On the 8th of August, however, the tide of fortune turned. On that day, in an action at the Kouga hills, between the Baviaans' Kloof river and the Kouga river, Commandant Tjaart van der Walt was shot dead. Never was the loss of a single individual more fatal to the success of an enterprise. Every one, from General Dundas to the poorest burgher, had felt the utmost confidence in the tact and skill of the commandant. There was but one opinion as to his high moral character, his bravery, and his devotion to duty. When he fell, Philip Rudolph Botha, the next burgher officer in rank, became commandant, and early on the following morning he ordered a retreat eastward through the country that had previously been cleared of the enemy. In great confusion the commando marched to the Bushman's river, and on the 14th of August the burghers composing it dispersed and set out for their homes.

Upon intelligence of Van der Walt's death and the dispersion of the commando reaching Capetown, General Dundas immediately repaired to the frontier, taking Mr. Honoratus Maynier with him. General Vandeleur was left in command in Capetown. Maynier was sent to the

Hottentots to try to induce them to lay down their arms, but he succeeded only with seven petty captains, who with their people were conducted overland to the seat of government, where they were maintained at the public expense until the transfer of the colony.

On the 10th of September there was a conference of military officers, under the presidency of General Dundas, at Fort Frederick. Landdrost Bresler was present, and took part in the proceedings. The troops were being withdrawn from the village of Graaff-Reinet, and those in Fort Frederick were on the point of leaving for Capetown, as the colony was shortly to be restored to its old masters. Some Dutch ships of war and transports with troops bound to India had recently arrived in Simon's Bay, and on the 19th of August General Dundas had written to Commodore Mellissen, who commanded them, requesting that Dutch troops might be sent to Algoa Bay to relieve the English soldiers there. The commodore replied that he was not empowered to act as desired, and General Dundas had therefore resolved to leave the fort without a garrison, and to withdraw from the interior of the colony all the troops except a few dragoons who were stationed at Hagelkraal. No one could suggest any other course than again to call out a large burgher commando, and orders were therefore issued to the farmers of the districts of Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Graaff-Reinet to meet in arms at Wolvefontein on the 20th of December. Philip Rudolph Botha was appointed commandant-general, but the burghers of each district were to be under the immediate orders of their own commandants.

The Kaffirs and Hottentots had now the country along the coast from Fish River to Plettenberg's Bay entirely at their mercy. On the 15th of October a party of fugitives was overtaken in the poort between Plettenberg's Bay and the Knysna by a band of marauders under command of David Stuurman—a brother of the captain,—when three white men and one black were murdered. Their waggons were plundered, but three women and some children were

spared, and after five days' detention were set at liberty. All the farms as far west as Kaaiman's River, near the present village of George, were then laid waste.

In December there was a report that the Kosas were returning to their own country, so the commando did not assemble at the time appointed. Fresh orders were then issued by General Dundas, and in January 1803 a large burgher force took the field. The Hottentots and the Kosas were now quarrelling about the division of the spoil, and each professed a desire to be at peace with the white people. The colony was just about to change its masters, and the burghers were anxious to know what assistance they might expect from the new authorities. On the 20th of February, therefore, at the very time that the Batavian troops were being quartered in the castle of Good Hope, an arrangement was made between the commandants and the Kosa chiefs that neither should molest the other, that the Kosas should return to their own country as soon as they could, and that in the mean time they should not trespass beyond the Zuurveld. The Hottentot captains promised to abstain from vagrancy and robbery, on condition of not being attacked. As soon as these arrangements were made the burghers were disbanded.

Owing to the devastation of the district of Graaff-Reinet, it was so difficult to obtain slaughter cattle for the supply of the military and naval forces at the Cape that General Dundas thought of trying to find a new market to buy in. For a generation past vague accounts had been received of the people now known as the Betshuana, then usually called by the Hottentot term Briqueas. There is no doubt that the southern Betshuana tribes had often been visited by European hunters and traders, but these men did not choose to make their discoveries known, and either kept silent or gave incorrect accounts of their travels. The first authentic information concerning the people north of the Orange and east of the Kalahari was obtained by an expedition sent by General Dundas to ascertain whether cattle could be procured from them.

This expedition was under the joint command of Mr. Pieter Jan Truter and Dr. William Somerville; a skilful artist—Mr. Samuel Daniell—accompanied it as secretary and draughtsman, Mr. P. B. Borchers was assistant secretary, and Mr. T. C. Schultz superintendent of the waggon train. There were twenty-four halfbreeds and Hottentots to tend the cattle, and four slaves to wait upon the Europeans. The caravan left Capetown on the 1st of October 1801, and passing through Roodezand and Hex River kloofs and over the Bokkeveld and the Roggeveld, on the 18th of the same month reached the northern boundary of the colony. Here the travellers were joined by seven farmers from the Roggeveld—Frans and David Kruger, Jan Cloete, Jan Maritz, Caspar Snyder, Pieter Jacobs, and David Lombard—who had been required by the landdrost of the district to accompany them as an escort. On the 23rd they passed the ruins of a mission station near the Zak river, once occupied by the reverend Messrs. Kicherer and Edwards, and on the 2nd of November they arrived on the southern bank of the Orange. After leaving the colonial boundary they had seen only a few half-starved Bushmen.

Crossing the Orange without much difficulty, they were joined on its northern bank by the reverend Mr. Edwards and his wife, who wished to proceed with them. Accompanying the missionary was a colonist named Jacob Kruger, who had been wandering about the banks of the great river for many years. On the 8th of November the party encountered a horde of halfbreeds, Koranas, and Bushmen, with whom was a colonist named Jan Kock acting as a volunteer missionary. Another stage brought them to Rietfontein, where a number of people of the Hottentot race were collected together, and the missionaries Kicherer, Anderson, and Kramer, assisted by two young colonists—Jacobus Scholtz and Christiaan Botma—were labouring.

After travelling several days farther in the same direction the Kuruman river was reached, and here the first kraals of the Batlapin tribe of Betshuana were seen. The reverend Mr. Edwards remained at this place to commence mission

work, and after a few days he was joined by Jan Kock. From the Kuruman the travellers went on to Lithako, a large kraal partly occupied by a Barolong clan under a chief named Makraki, and partly by the principal section of the Batlapin tribe, then under the government of the chief Molehabangwe. Near the kraal were large gardens, from which the people derived the greater portion of their food. The travellers estimated that Lithako contained from ten to fifteen thousand inhabitants.

At this place they remained until the 12th of December, gathering information, but unable to procure any cattle worth speaking of. Molehabangwe informed them that he had been attacked and nearly ruined a few years before by a halfbreed named Jan Bloem, who was at the head of a Korana horde. Messrs. Truter and Somerville wished to go on to the principal sections of the Barolong tribe farther north, but Molehabangwe, following an invariable custom with African chiefs, gave his neighbours such a bad character, and pictured so many obstacles to the journey, that they abandoned the idea.

In returning, the expedition went down the Orange river to a place on its southern bank where the halfbreed captain Cornelis Kok was then residing, in hope of being able to obtain a drove of cattle from him. In this they were not successful. Mr. Botma and a number of halfbreeds from the mission station at Rietfontein overtook them here, and asked for assistance against the robber captain Afrikaner. Cornelis Kok's people were ready to join, and an expedition set out under the leadership of Adam Kok, the captain's son. Messrs. Somerville, Daniell, and Botma accompanied it a short distance, until it became necessary to proceed on foot, when they returned.

In Afrikaner's gang there was at this time a white man, by birth a Pole, who had been a soldier in the Dutch East India Company's service, but had committed a crime for which he was sentenced to death. He escaped from prison, and made his way to the banks of the Orange river, where he palmed himself off upon the Korana hordes as a religious

instructor sent to them direct from heaven. When the missionaries of the London society appeared there, this vagabond, fearing that he would be detected and sent to Capetown for punishment, joined Afrikaner's band, and shortly became a prominent member of it. Messrs. Truter and Somerville, as well as the missionaries, were anxious to have him apprehended, as a renegade European in such a situation was particularly dangerous.

The party that went against the robbers found them on one of the islands in the river below Olivenhout Drift. Adam Kok's band attacked them there, and defeated them, but both Afrikaner and the renegade Pole escaped. Three hundred oxen, one hundred sheep, and two muskets were secured as spoil.

Messrs. Truter and Somerville were desirous of visiting Little Namaqualand, but the country to the westward was so parched that it could not be traversed. The expedition therefore turned back at Cornelis Kok's kraal, and followed the same route to the Cape that it had taken when going inland. At the Zak river the reverend Mr. Kicherer was again met. He was busy rebuilding the abandoned station, and intended to renew the effort to establish a mission there for the benefit of the Bushmen.

Messrs. Truter and Somerville brought back with them information that the Betshuana were a branch of the same race as the Kosas on the eastern frontier of the colony, but that their language and their habits were in some respects different. The Kosas were more warlike, but less skilful in manufactures. The travellers were particularly struck with the comparative comfort of the huts used by the Betshuana, and with the neatness of their skin robes. A great deal of information which they gathered has since proved to be correct, but they formed some erroneous opinions, as was indeed unavoidable when the means of communication were defective and the intercourse short.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the 8th of December 1801 the residents in Capetown were startled by a crashing noise, which was caused by the fall of an enormous mass of

rock in the gorge on the face of Table Mountain. No damage was done, but the fissure for a great distance was found to be strewn with fragments of stone, and its appearance was changed considerably. This was not the first instance in historical times of heavy masses of rock becoming detached at the top of the mountain. In a great storm on the 10th of July 1695 stones of enormous size rolled down, and on the 16th of September 1699 there was a fall of rock accompanied with a great noise. Again, on the 27th of May 1760, during a violent storm, many rocks rolled far into Table Valley, and much damage was caused to the gardens of Jacob van Reenen and the widow Eksteen on the Rondebosch side by the huge stones that lodged in them. After 1801 there was no fall of any consequence until the 6th of June 1830. About half an hour before noon on that day the people of Capetown were startled by a heavy rumbling noise, which at first was believed to be caused by an earthquake. They rushed out of their houses in great alarm, when the noise was found to proceed from the descent of immense rocks from the face of the mountain.

During this period there is not much to be related concerning church matters. No new congregations were formed, and in 1803 several of the old ones were without pastors. The reverend Mr. Kuys, of Capetown, died in January 1799, and the reverend Mr. Aling, of Drakenstein, in May 1800. In January 1802 the reverend Mr. Von Manger was removed from Swellendam to Capetown, and in April of that year he was succeeded at Swellendam by the reverend Mr. Ballot. In February 1803 the churches of Drakenstein, Rodezand, and Graaff-Reinet were without other clergymen than consents, the reverend Messrs. Serrurier, Fleck, and Von Manger were in Capetown, the reverend Mr. Borchers was at Stellenbosch, the reverend Mr. Van der Spuy was at Zwartland, and the reverend Mr. Ballot was at Swellendam. In the Lutheran church in Capetown the vacancy caused by the death of the reverend Mr. Kolver was filled in February 1799 by the temporary appointment of the reverend Johan Haas, who called here

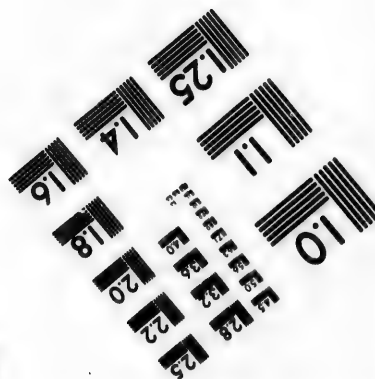
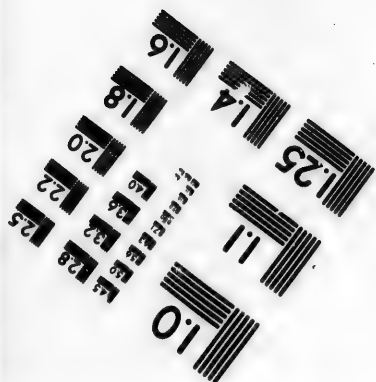
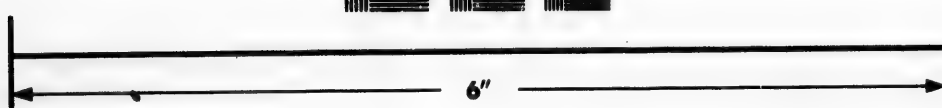
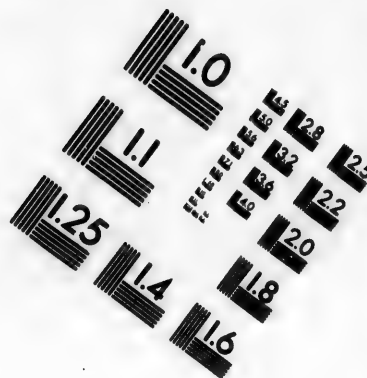
in a Danish ship. He remained as acting clergyman until February 1802, when the reverend Mr. Hesse arrived from England with the permanent appointment. A clergyman of the church of England was stationed in Capetown as chaplain to the troops, but there was no congregation formed other than military, though some of the officers of government and several merchants attended the services.

The only public building in Capetown which still remains as a memorial of the first English occupation of the colony is St. Stephen's church in Riebeeck-square. It was put up by a company for a theatre, and during half a century was used for that purpose; but was then purchased by the reverend George Stegmann of the evangelical Lutheran communion and was turned into a mission church and schoolroom. In 1857 Mr. Stegmann and his congregation united with the Dutch reformed church, with which St. Stephen's has been connected since that date.

On the 1st of October 1801 preliminary articles of peace between France and England were signed at London, and in them Great Britain agreed to surrender the Cape Colony to the Batavian Republic. The old Dutch East India Company had disappeared. On the 1st of March 1796 the assembly of seventeen was replaced by a commission of the states-general termed the committee for the East Indian trade and possessions, and this again in 1800 was superseded by a council for the Asiatic possessions and establishments.

On the 8th of March 1802 the states-general resolved that the executive and legislative authority of the colony should be entrusted to a governor and a council of four members, at least one of whom should be by birth or long residence a colonist. The governor was to be also commander-in-chief of the troops. His salary was to be 4,166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year, and that of each of the councillors 833*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The high court of justice was to be independent of the executive and legislative authority. It was to consist of a president and six members, all of them versed in law and unconnected with parties in the colony. A secretary was to be attached to the court, and there was to be an





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attorney-general to conduct public prosecutions. Trade between the colony and the possessions of the Batavian Republic everywhere was to be unrestricted, except that for revenue purposes customs duties of three per cent upon the value of articles of commerce were to be charged. The colony was not to be subject to any control from Java, but was to be a direct dependency of the Netherlands. With these general principles as a foundation, the task of drawing up a plan of government was entrusted to Mr. Jacob Abraham de Mist, an advocate of high standing and a member of the council for the Asiatic possessions and establishments.

The final terms of peace were signed at Amiens on the 27th of March 1802. The sixth article is thus worded: 'The Cape of Good Hope remains in full sovereignty to the Batavian Republic, as it was before the war. The ships of every description belonging to the other contracting parties shall have the right to put in there, and to purchase such supplies as they may stand in need of as heretofore, without paying any other duties than those to which the ships of the Batavian Republic are subject.'

The document drawn up by Mr. De Mist gave such satisfaction that on the 1st of April he was appointed commissioner-general to receive the colony from the English, install the Dutch officials, and make such regulations for the government as he might find necessary. A very able military officer and man of high moral worth—Lieutenant-General Jan Willem Janssens—was appointed governor, and a staff of subordinate officials was selected. Three commissioners—Messrs. A. Muller, R. de Klerk Dibbetz, and J. F. Benay—were directed to proceed to the colony, and make arrangements for the reception of the troops destined for a garrison.

These commissioners arrived in Simon's Bay on the 12th of August, and on the same day an English frigate brought official intelligence of the signing of the treaty of Amiens and the first despatches from the secretary of state received during ten months.

On the 5th of August Mr. De Mist and General Janssens

with a staff of officers sailed from Texel in the *Bato*, one of the ships of war belonging to a fleet under Commodore Dekker, destined for the Cape of Good Hope and India. Some transports with troops and some storeships sailed at the same time, others followed a little later. The troops selected to form the garrison of the colony consisted of the twenty-second and twenty-third battalions of infantry, each seven hundred and sixty-four men in strength, the ninth battalion of jagers, four hundred and twenty strong, the fifth battalion of artillery, four hundred and twelve strong, a squadron of two hundred and six light dragoons, and the fifth battalion of Waldeck, five hundred and eighty-four strong, altogether, officers and men, three thousand one hundred and fifty souls.

The *Bato* arrived in Table Bay on the 23rd of December, and next morning the commissioner-general took up his quarters in the castle, where he was at once waited upon by the principal residents in Capetown. Two members of the council and six of the judges of the high court landed at the same time. The troops were disembarked as the transports arrived, and were quartered in the barracks.

On the 30th of December General Dundas issued a proclamation absolving the inhabitants of the colony from the oath of allegiance to the king of England on and after the 1st of January 1803.

It was arranged that at sunset in the evening of Friday the 31st of December the English guards should be relieved by Batavian soldiers, and at sunrise next morning the Dutch flag should be hoisted on the castle. The English troops were nearly all embarked in transports, when at half past two in the afternoon of the 31st General Dundas and Vice-Admiral Sir Roger Curtis went to the castle and informed Mr. De Mist that the transfer must be delayed. At noon a packet had arrived with a despatch from the secretary of state, dated the 14th of October, instructing the acting governor not to give up the colony until further orders. The soldiers in the transports had then been hurried into boats on the offshore side of the ships, and a strong force

had landed and was within the castle walls before the Dutch officers knew that anything was amiss. Only half the Batavian troops had arrived, and those on shore were not provided with weapons. There was no attempt therefore to insist upon the transfer.

An arrangement was made that the Batavian troops should camp out under canvas on a plain near Rondebosch, which from that circumstance has ever since been known as the campground. Mr. De Mist remained at the castle, but General Janssens and the Dutch officials took up their residence with the troops.

This event caused great consternation in Capetown, for it was feared that war would break out again immediately. In a panic some of the residents were preparing to retire to the inland districts. On the 2nd of January General Dundas issued a proclamation, declaring martial law in force, forbidding assemblages of people, and prohibiting the removal of families from the town to the country.

Matters remained in suspense until the 19th of February, when his Majesty's ship *Concord* brought a despatch from the secretary of state, dated the 16th of November 1802, instructing General Dundas to transfer the colony at once. At half past seven in the evening this was communicated to the commissioner-general, and next day several companies of Batavian troops marched from the campground and took up their quarters in the castle.

At sunset in the evening of Sunday the 20th of February 1803 the English guards were relieved by Dutch soldiers, and next morning the Batavian flag was hoisted on the castle and was saluted by the ships of war in the bay.

The British soldiers proceeded to other stations, the officials returned to England, and only two commissioners remained to settle accounts with the new government. The chief item was the paper money that had been created. General Craig had issued notes to the amount of 50,000*l.* to purchase supplies for his troops. General Dundas, on the 1st of January 1802, had increased the paper in circulation by 56,000*l.*, of which a sum of 20,000*l.* was added to the

capital of the loan bank, the interest of which was to be applied to keeping the streets of Capetown in order, another sum of 20,000*l.* was advanced to a committee to lay in a supply of wheat to provide against famine in the town, and the balance of 16,000*l.* was advanced to the same committee to purchase rice for a like purpose. The 20,000*l.* created for the purchase of wheat was destroyed when the wheat was sold; but another amount of 13,000*l.* was added to the capital of the loan bank, so that the paper currency was increased during the British administration by four hundred and ninety-five thousand rixdollars, or 99,000*l.* The rice purchased with the 16,000*l.* created for the purpose was still in the magazines, and it was transferred untouched. Of the other items, the only one which the British authorities could be expected to pay was the issue by General Craig. To that amount—50,000*l.*—property was transferred to the new government.

It looks strange to one who does not reflect upon the changes which the present century has seen to find the government slaves included in this property. After the surrender of the colony in September 1795 the slaves belonging to the Dutch East India Company, four hundred and fifty-eight in number, great and small, were claimed by the army and navy as prize. The claim was admitted, and the slaves were purchased 'for his Majesty's service' at 30*l.* a head all round. They were now transferred to the Batavian authorities at the same rate, and the balance of the amount was paid in munitions of war.

CHAPTER XXX.

JACOB ABRAHAM DE MIST, COMMISSIONER-GENERAL, 21 FEBRUARY 1803 TO 25 SEPTEMBER 1804.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JAN WILLEM JANSSENS, GOVERNOR,
INSTALLED 1 MARCH 1803, CAPITULATED TO AN ENGLISH
ARMY 18 JANUARY 1806

Installation by Commissioner-General De Mist of officials of the new government—Grant of an amnesty to political offenders—Release of the Graaff-Reinet prisoners—Tour of General Janssens—Arrangements with the Hottentots and Kosas—Intelligence of the outbreak of war in Europe—Reduction of the garrison at the Cape—Confiscation of property belonging to the English East India Company—Tour of Commissioner-General De Mist—Partition of the colony into six districts instead of four—Formation of drostdies at Uitenhage and Tulbagh—Efforts of Mr. Gysbert Karel van Hogendorp to send out colonists from the Netherlands—Appointment of a commission to make improvements in agriculture and stockbreeding—Issue of an ordinance granting full religious toleration—Ecclesiastical matters—Attempt to establish public schools—Alteration of the marriage law—Selection of a coat-of-arms for Capetown—Issue of more paper-money—Jealousy of French influence entertained by the government—Return to Europe of Commissioner-General De Mist—Establishment of posts between Capetown and the various drostdies—Resolution regarding a new northern boundary of the colony—Duties and powers of district officers—Expedition to the Batlapin country—Report upon the London missionary society's stations at Zak River and north of the Orange—Shipwrecks in Table Bay—Census returns—Condition of the colony at the close of 1805—Expedition sent from England against the Cape Colony—Landing of the English army under Major-General Baird on the Blueberg beach—Composition of the army under General Janssens—Battle of Blueberg—Defeat of the Batavian forces—Retirement of General Janssens with the remnant of his army to the mountains of Hottentots-Holland—Capitulation of Capetown—Scarcity of flour and wheat—Measures adopted by General Baird—Negotiations with General Janssens—Capitulation of the Dutch army—Departure of General Janssens for Holland.

THE 1st of March 1803 was observed as a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the restoration of the colony to its ancient owners. In the morning service was held in all the churches, and at noon the commissioner De Mist installed Lieutenant-General Janssens as governor. The ceremony took place in the hall of the castle of Good Hope,

in presence of a crowd of spectators. The other officials also who had arrived from Europe had their duties formally assigned to them. The member of council R. G. van Polanen had not yet reached the colony; but the other three—Roedolf Anthony de Salis, Willem Ferdinand van Reede van Oudtshoorn, and Jacobus Philippus van Medenbach Wakker—were invested with office. Jan Henoch Neethling was named as secretary, and C. H. van Hasselt as assistant secretary to the council.

One of the judges of the high court was still in Europe, as was also the secretary, Mr. Gerrit Buyskes; and the attorney-general, Mr. Gerard Beelaerts van Blokland, was at sea on the passage out. The judges who were present and were sworn in were Messrs. L. C. Strubberg, E. de Man, R. van Burmania, W. Hiddingh, M. Wichers, and D. Denysen.

The commissioner-general announced that after making himself acquainted with the circumstances of the country it would be his duty to prepare a charter, which, however, would require to be confirmed by the states-general. An amnesty was granted to all persons confined or banished by the late government for political offences.

In the evening the principal houses in Capetown were illuminated, and a series of festivities followed.

The amnesty did not include the Graaff-Reinet farmers who had been nearly four years in prison, as they had been sentenced by a court of law. But they were not left long in doubt concerning their fate. Adriaan van Jaarsveld had died in confinement. The others were set free on the 30th of March.

The landdrost, secretaries, and in general all the clerks who had held office during the English administration retained their appointments. So did the collector of tithes and the wine tax, Christoffel Brand, and the receiver-general of revenue, Arend de Waal, who had succeeded Mr. Rhenius in April 1797. Mr. J. P. Baumgardt had left the country on its transfer to its old masters, and in his stead as collector of land revenue Mr. De Mist appointed Sebastiaan Valentyn van Reenen, who had suffered heavy losses under

the late administration by being detained for a long time in arrest on suspicion of having communicated with the Dutch fleet under Admiral Lucas.

The burgher senate was enlarged to seven members, but in the following year was reduced to five. Those now chosen were Cornelis van der Poel, Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, Anthony Berrange, Pieter van Breda, Jan Andries Horak, Jacobus Johannes Vos, and Jan Adriaan Vermaak. Cajus Jesse Slotsboo was appointed secretary. After the reduction in number took place, the senate consisted of a president and four members. At the end of every year one retired, when a list of four names was furnished to the governor, from which to select a successor. At the same time the governor appointed one of them to act as president during the ensuing twelvemonth.

On the 3rd of April Governor Janssens left Capetown to visit the eastern part of the colony, and ascertain how matters were standing with the white people, the Kosas, and the Hottentots. At Fort Frederick he found Dr. Vanderkemp and the Hottentots under his care, who had abandoned Botha's farm some time before. Upon close inquiry he learned that many of these people who had once been in service with farmers had good reason of complaint on the ground of ill-treatment. He fully approved of the plan contemplated by General Dundas, of assigning a tract of land for their use, where they could be under the guidance of missionaries; and he offered for this purpose any vacant ground that was available. A commission, consisting of the commandants Botha and Van Rooyen, Mr. Dirk van Reenen, and Mr. Gerrit Oosthuizen, was thereupon appointed by the governor to act in conjunction with the reverend James Read, Dr. Vanderkemp's nominee, in selecting a suitable place. They chose a tract of land about six thousand seven hundred morgen in extent, lying along the Little Zwartkops river, between the loan farms of Thomas Ferreira and the widow Scheepers. On the 31st of May the governor gave his formal consent in writing to the occupation of this place by the Hottentots under supervision of missionaries of

the London society, and at Dr. Vanderkemp's request named it Bethelsdorp. The permission thus given was confirmed by Mr. De Mist a few months afterwards.

One hundred and fifty men of the Waldeck regiment, under command of Major Von Gilten, had in the meantime arrived by sea, and had occupied Fort Frederick. Order could therefore be enforced in the immediate neighbourhood. The governor found it advisable to remove two farmers, who were much disliked by the Hottentots on account of their harsh conduct. Thomas Ignatius Ferreira he ordered to reside in the neighbourhood of the drostdy of Swellendam, and Jan Arend Rens he sent to Stellenbosch.

Two parties of Hottentots who had not chosen to place themselves under the guidance of missionaries were living near the Sunday river. The governor sent friendly messages to their captains, Klaas Stuurman and Boesak, the first of whom accepted an invitation to visit Fort Frederick and make his wants known. Stuurman stated that his followers were thoroughly impoverished, and most of them would be very glad to take service with the colonists, if they could be assured of peace and good treatment. He asked for a tract of land on the left bank of the Gamtoos river, where he and his people could have their homes, while those who were so disposed could engage themselves to the farmers. The governor did not immediately give a decision upon this request, as he wished Stuurman's plan to move farther westward; but he came to a friendly understanding with the captain. The past was to be forgotten on both sides, or, if it was remembered, the misdeeds of the Hottentots during the war were to be regarded as a set-off against the ill-treatment which some of them complained of having received from colonists. The Hottentots were assured of complete protection of person and property, and it was arranged that when any of them went into service a record of the terms should be kept by the landdrost, who should see that strict justice was done.

By the governor's directions, on the 9th of May an ordinance was published by the council, requiring contracts

between farmers and Hottentots to be made in triplicate, upon certain prescribed forms, before an official of position, as no notice would be taken by the courts of law of complaints against servants engaged in any other manner.

On the 19th of June the governor instructed Captain Alberti, the second in command of the garrison of Fort Frederick, to select a suitable tract of land on the Gamtoos river, and give it to Stuurman for the use of his people. A great many of these in the meantime had gone into service. The captain was then away hunting buffaloes, and the next that was heard of him was that his gun had burst and shattered one of his arms, from the effects of which he died in November. His brother David Stuurman then became captain of the clan, and in February 1804 a location was assigned to him on the Gamtoos river.

Boesak and his followers wandered about for a time, but did not molest any one, and ultimately they also settled down peaceably.

When the colony was transferred, the Hottentot regiment in the British service was transferred with it to the Batavian authorities. The regiment was then quartered at Rietvlei, a farm on the Cape flats that from early times had been kept for the use of the government. There were two hundred and fifty-nine privates, thirty corporals, and seventeen drummers, drawing rations and trifling pay, and requiring to be clothed and housed. At the same place, Rietvlei, were the seven captains that Maynier had induced to remove from the Zuurveld, and who had with them one hundred and twenty-three men, two hundred and eighty-nine women, and two hundred and fifty-two children. All these were being fed at the expense of government, and their presence had a very bad effect upon the pandours. To those among them who would not enter service the governor allotted locations of ample size at some distance from the frontier, and he furnished them with a few cattle to commence stock-breeding.

By these arrangements the disturbances with the Hottentots were brought to an end.

Upon the arrival of General Janssens at Fort Frederick he sent messengers to the Kosa chiefs in the Zuurveld, inviting them to come and talk over matters with him. Ndlambe and Jalusa thereupon sent some of their councillors to declare that they wished to live in peace and friendship with the white people. Cungwa and one of the sons of Langa returned for reply that they would meet the governor on the Sunday river in five days' time, if he would be there, and that they were anxious to be on good terms with the colonists.

The governor then made arrangements for a conference with the chiefs at the place of their own selection. He was accompanied from Fort Frederick by sixty-five soldiers and thirty other attendants, and on the way was joined by Commandant Van Rensburg with one hundred and eight burghers, who came to pay their respects and express their gratification that the country had been restored to its ancient owners.

The conference took place on the 24th of May, on the eastern bank of the Sunday river. The chiefs would not venture into the camp, which was on the opposite side of the stream, and General Janssens was obliged to leave his retinue and go across with a few officers and the burgher commandant. Ndlambe, Cungwa, Jalusa, Tshatshu, and some others of less note, with numerous attendants, were present. Klaas Stuurman and some of his people were also there.

During three days a discussion was carried on concerning a friendly arrangement between the two races. The chiefs expressed an earnest wish for peace and friendship with the white people, and there was no difficulty in settling such matters as the delivery of deserters and fugitive slaves, the mode of punishing offenders on either side, and the like. But the all-important question of the removal of the Kosas from the Zuurveld could not be arranged so easily. The chiefs admitted the Fish river as the boundary, but declared that they could not cross it through fear of Gaika. They were about to attack him, they said, and if they were

victorious they would at once return to their own country, otherwise they must wait for a convenient opportunity. The governor tried to persuade them to make peace with Gaika, and after much talking all except Ndlambe expressed their willingness to do so, provided the overtures came from him. Ndlambe could not be induced to say that he would come to terms with his nephew.

As nothing more could be done, presents were made to the chiefs, who sent a couple of oxen in return; and with assurances of friendship on both sides the parties separated. The governor now issued a proclamation prohibiting the colonists from engaging Kaffirs as labourers, and ordering that all of that race who were in service should be immediately discharged unless they had been over a year with their employers and expressed a wish to remain.

The governor next proceeded to visit Gaika, from whom he had received a message requesting assistance against the Kaffirs in the Zuurveld. At the Fish river the persons whom he sent in advance to announce his intention brought him back intelligence that they had been received in a very friendly manner, and Coenraad du Buis came as the chief's confidant to welcome him and request him to go on to the Kat river.

On the 24th of June the governor had a conference with Gaika, at which a formal agreement of friendship was entered into. The Fish river was declared to be the boundary between the two races, and the chief promised that none of his followers except official messengers should cross it. He gave an assurance that if the Kaffirs in the Zuurveld would return to their own country he would not molest them, but he declined positively to make overtures of peace to Ndlambe. He consented to expel the European renegades who were living with his people, but desired to make an exception in favour of Coenraad du Buis. That individual, however, promised the governor that he would return to the colony, and a few months later he kept his word. As for the others, several were delivered to the colonial authorities and were placed where they could be watched, eight or ten fled to

distant tribes, and one—Jan Botha—was murdered by Ndlambe's people.

From the Kat river, General Janssens proceeded to the northern border of the colony, to ascertain the condition of the white people and the Bushmen. At Plettenberg's beacon on the Zeekoe river a messenger met him with a despatch announcing that on the 12th of May, less than three months after the restoration of the colony, war had broken out again between Great Britain and France. The Batavian Republic was so closely allied with the latter power as necessarily to share its fortunes. The governor therefore hastened back to Capetown, without being able to do more than gather what information could be obtained in a very rapid journey.

It was now resolved to reduce the garrison of Fort Frederick to half the strength at first intended. Captain Lodewyk Alberti, who was about to take over the command from Major Von Gilten, was instructed to continue urging the Kosas in the Zuurveld to cross the Fish river without delay. In August that officer made a tour among them for this purpose, but was unsuccessful. In the following month Cungwa came to terms with Gaika, and promised Alberti to leave the colony as soon as his crops were gathered. Ndlambe's people at this time were making gardens on the western side of the Bushman's river, though the chief had undertaken not to do so. Parties of them were roaming about lifting cattle wherever they could find an unprotected herd. The war between them and Gaika's clan was being carried on actively, and Kawuta had been applied to again for assistance, but declined to give it.

Soon after this another combination was formed. Cungwa and Jalusa joined Gaika, and together they attacked Ndlambe in the Zuurveld, but did not succeed in dislodging him. The belt of land along the coast east of the Bushman's river was thus kept from being reoccupied by the farmers, but the remaining portion of the district of Graaff-Reinet was in a fair condition of tranquillity.

Upon learning of the renewal of hostilities in Europe, General Janssens devoted all his attention to putting the Cape peninsula in a condition for defence, and to the increase of his military strength. But soon instructions were received from Holland that he must send his best regiment, the 23rd battalion of infantry, to Batavia, as the mother country was unable to furnish more men, and troops were urgently needed in Java. In February 1804 this regiment left South Africa. The governor did what he could to make up for its loss, by increasing the Hottentot corps first to five hundred, and soon afterwards to six hundred men. But to the burghers he looked chiefly for the defence of the colony, if it should be attacked.

The English East India Company had a large amount of property in Capetown, under charge of its agent, Mr. John Pringle. On the 29th of September 1803 this was declared confiscated, on account of war, and was seized for the government. There was a great quantity of salt provisions, and 11,351*l.* in money, which proved very serviceable, as the funds in the treasury were low. Mr. De Mist brought with him from Holland 8,333*l.* in money and 33,333*l.* in bills of exchange, but that was nearly all expended, and, except for the maintenance of the troops, nothing could be expected from Europe after the renewal of the war. The yearly average of the colonial revenue from January 1803 to January 1806 was only three hundred and sixty-nine thousand six hundred and thirty-eight rixdollars, equal at the estimated rate of exchange to 61,606*l.*

On the 9th of October the commissioner-general left Capetown for the purpose of making a tour through the colony and becoming acquainted with the condition and wants of the people. He took with him a number of attendants and a military escort, so that the train had quite an imposing appearance. Proceeding first in a northerly direction, he visited Saldanha and St. Helena bays; then turning inland, he passed through Pikenier's Kloof, and kept onward to the Hantam. From the Hantam he made his way over the Roggeveld and the Bokkeveld to the land

of Waveren—now the Tulbagh basin,—where he remained some days to refresh his cattle. He then kept down the valley of the Breede river, and after passing the site of the present village of Worcester he turned to the south to visit the Moravian mission station in Baviaans' Kloof.

More people were residing at that station than at any other place in the colony except Capetown, but it had still no distinctive name, for there were several Baviaans' Kloofs in the country. It was only on the 1st of January 1806 that General Janssens confirmed the name Genadendal—Vale of Grace—which the missionaries at his request had just previously given to it. At the time of Mr. De Mist's visit, there were nearly eleven hundred people attached to the mission. They occupied about two hundred wattle-and-daub cottages, small and scantily furnished, but a great advance upon Hottentot huts. Each little cottage stood in a garden, in which vegetables and fruit trees of various kinds were growing. There was an air of order and neatness over the whole place, and marks of industry were apparent on all sides. The most thriving of the residents were naturally the halfbreeds, many of whom had really comfortable homes; but even the pure Hottentots had made advances towards civilisation. Some of the men belonging to the station were away in service with farmers, but at stated intervals they returned to their families with their earnings. There were five missionaries, two—Rose and Korhammer by name—having come from Europe in 1799 to assist the three who founded the station. They were living in plain, but comfortable houses. They and their wives were all engaged during stated hours of the day in teaching industrial occupations, and in the evening the whole community assembled in a large and neat building to join in the worship of God. The missionaries, having power to expel unruly persons from the place, maintained strict discipline among the Hottentots; but it was the kind of discipline that parents enforce upon children, tempered by love and interest in their welfare. Nothing more admirable than this excellent institution could be imagined, and

Mr. De Mist and the officers of his train had a difficulty in finding words to express their pleasure and satisfaction with what they saw.

From the Moravian village the commissioner-general went eastward through Swellendam to Fort Frederick at Algoa Bay. Here he was visited by the reverend Dr. Vanderkemp, with whom he had been acquainted in Holland thirty-five years before. Dr. Vanderkemp was dressed in coat, trousers, and sandals; but was without shirt, neckcloth, socks, or hat. In a burning sun he travelled about bareheaded and thus strangely attired. Yet his conversation was rational, and his memory was perfectly sound. He had formed an opinion that to convert the Hottentots to Christianity it was necessary to descend in style of living nearly to their level, to be their companion as well as their teacher, and being thoroughly in earnest he was putting his views into practice.

Mr. De Mist and his party visited the London society's station of Bethelsdorp, where Dr. Vanderkemp and the reverend Mr. Read were residing. They found no indication of industry of any kind, no garden—though it was then the planting season,—nothing but a number of wretched huts on a bare plain, with people lying about in filth and indolence. The Hottentots having settled there so recently, it was not to be expected that the place would present the appearance of Genadendal, and Mr. De Mist was well aware that the London missionaries were not in as favourable a position as the Moravian brethren. They had to deal with a wild people, who had been less than a quarter of a century in contact with Europeans, and to whom expulsion from the station would be no punishment. The Moravians, on the other hand, were working with people who had grown up among farmers, who could appreciate the advantage of a fixed residence, and who were accustomed to the use of such food as could be derived from gardens and orchards. It was not therefore the absence of improvement that gave Mr. De Mist and those who were with him an unfavourable impression of Bethelsdorp, but the absence of any effort to

induce the Hottentots to adopt industrious habits, and the profession of principles that tended to degrade one race without raising the other. The missionaries themselves were living in the same manner as the Hottentots, and were so much occupied with teaching religious truths that they entirely neglected temporal matters. Dr. Vanderkemp was loud in complaints against the colonists in the neighbourhood, because they gave nothing towards the maintenance of the station, as he held it was their duty to do, and because they often tried to induce some of the people to leave the school and enter into service. More with a view of keeping the Hottentots out of mischief than with any expectation of this institution becoming useful, the commissioner-general made a small grant of money from the colonial treasury towards the funds of the place, and added to the gift some sensible advice.

From Bethelsdorp Mr. De Mist and his train travelled north-eastward through the Zuurveld. They found parties of Kosas wandering about the country begging and making themselves a nuisance to such colonists as had returned to the devastated farms, but not committing any open hostilities. Messengers were sent to Ndlambe, Cungwa, and Jalusa, to invite them to a conference on the Bushman's river; but they did not appear, and it was not found possible to meet them. A messenger was also sent to Gaika, who appointed a place for an interview, but on Mr. De Mist's arrival he was not there. One of his councillors appeared instead, and requested the commissioner-general to proceed still farther, as the chief was anxious to see the great captain of the white people. He stated that Gaika was then preparing to attack Ndlambe, and therefore could not leave his kraal. Mr. De Mist, however, did not choose to put himself to any more trouble, so from the Fish river the party turned homeward.

The route now followed was by the way of Brintjes Hoogte to the village of Graaff-Reinet. Here a detention of several days was made, for the purpose of arranging the affairs of the eastern part of the colony. When this was

completed the party moved on, and after suffering greatly from heat on the Karoo, passed again through the land of Waveren, and arrived at the castle on the 23rd of March 1804.

On the 7th of February the commissioner-general issued a proclamation from the village of Graaff-Reinet, cutting off from the district of that name the fieldcornetcies of Zwarte Ruggens, Bruintjes Hoogte, Zuurveld, Bushman's River, and Zwartkops River. These were the fieldcornetcies in which the most turbulent burghers resided, and which had been the principal field of depredations by the Kosas. They were now formed into a new district, which was to have as landdrost a military officer in command of a body of troops. Mr. Bresler had been recalled some time before, and in his stead Mr. Andries Stockenström, secretary of Swellendam, was appointed landdrost of Graaff-Reinet. On the 14th of February he assumed the duty. On the 22nd of April Captain Alberti, who was in command of the garrison of Fort Frederick, was instructed to act as landdrost of the new district, to which three days later General Janssens gave the name Uitenhage, an old family name of the commissioner-general.

Captain Alberti was instructed to consult the leading burghers in the selection of a site for the drostdy, and the three landdrosts of Swellendam, Graaff-Reinet, and Uitenhage were directed to confer together and send in a report upon the advisability or otherwise of increasing the size of the new district. On the 4th of October they recommended that the fieldcornetcy of Winterhoek should be taken from Graaff-Reinet, and the fieldcornetcies of Zitzikama, Kromme River, and Baviaans' Kloof from Swellendam, and added to Uitenhage. Each district should then have a landdrost and six heemraden. The commissioner-general approved of this, and the necessary orders were given.

The boundary of the new district of Uitenhage was declared to be 'from Grenadier's Cape through the upper end of Kromme River in a straight line through Kougaberg

to the lower point of Anthoniesberg, thence along the wagon road through Dasjes Poort, Groote River Poort, Groote River, Swanepoel's Poort, Hop River, Bul River, Sunday River, Vogel River, and Blyde River to Bruintjes Hoogte, thence along the top of Bruintjes Hoogte to the Boschberg, along the Boschberg to the end of Kagaberg, and thence Fish River to the sea.'

Captain Alberti, with Commandant Hendrik van Rensburg and Fieldcornet Ignatius Mulder, selected as a suitable site for the drostdy a farm belonging to the widow Elizabeth Scheepers, which had been laid waste by the Kaffirs, and had not since been occupied. The widow offered to sell the farm for 400*l.*, provided the right of free residence during her life was left to her. On the 22nd of September the council agreed to purchase it on these terms. The drostdy buildings were commenced shortly afterwards, when the site took the same name as the district. The first session of the landdrost and heemraden was held on the 15th of November.

In the same year another district was created. On the 11th of July 1804 the commissioner-general issued a proclamation cutting off from Stellenbosch a tract of country north of a provisional line, which was laid down as extending from Verloren Vlei north of St. Helena Bay along Kruis River, thence east through Pikenier's Kloof and Eland's Kloof, along the northern base of the mountains of Cold Bokkeveld, and thence south-east by the Draai at Verkeerde Vlei to the border of Swellendam. On the 15th of July General Janssens gave to the district between this provisional line, the northern boundary of the colony, and the Gamka river or western boundary of Graaff-Reinet, the name Tulbagh, in honour of the highly esteemed governor of former days. It was proposed that the drostdy should be at Jan-Dissel's-Vlei, where the village of Clanwilliam was built a few years afterwards; but as it was doubtful whether a better site could not be found, Mr. Hendrik Lodewyk Bletterman, formerly landdrost of Stellenbosch, was appointed a commissioner to inspect the new district,

report upon this matter and the provisional boundary, and make arrangements for opening a court.

On the 1st of August Mr. Hendrik van de Graaff was appointed landdrost of Tulbagh. This gentleman was a nephew of the former governor Van de Graaff, and was an officer of the artillery corps when the colony was surrendered to the British forces in 1795. In April 1797 he was appointed a director of the loan bank, in which position he had acquitted himself so well that he was now considered the best man who could be found as landdrost.

Mr. Bletterman sent in a report, in which strong objections were urged against Jan-Dissel's-Vlei being made the seat of magistracy, on account of its being cut off from the eastern part of the district by a very rugged tract of land. He recommended instead the farm Rietvlei, close to Roodezand's church. This farm belonged to a man named Hercules du Pré, who was willing to sell it for 1,111*l*. The council adopted the report on the 18th of September, and extended the district of Tulbagh southward to the Breede river from its junction with the Hex upwards to the western point of the so-called island, thence the western chain of mountains to Roodezand's Kloof, thence the Little Berg river through the kloof, and thence the mountains of Twenty-four Rivers and Elephant River to the first-named provisional boundary.

One of the most enterprising and patriotic men in the Netherlands at this time was Mr. Gysbert Karel van Hogendorp, whose name at a later date was intimately connected with the history of his country. This gentleman formed a plan of colonising a tract of land in the neighbourhood of Plettenberg's Bay, by which means he hoped to benefit both the mother country and the dependency.

The design was a large one. Mr. Van Hogendorp was to receive from the government a grant in freehold of an extensive district, comprising forests as well as ground adapted for tillage and pasturage. The government was to provide free passages from the Netherlands for such persons as he should send out. These persons were to be farm

labourers and artisans, who were to enter into a contract to serve him after their arrival in South Africa for a stated time at fixed wages, after which they were to have plots of ground from thirty to one hundred acres in extent assigned to them. He was then to provide them with stock to farm with, for which he was to receive interest in produce for twenty-five years, at the expiration of which period they could either repay the capital or continue as before.

He intended to have a portion of the land cultivated on his own account, and it was for this purpose that he required the services of the people. A magazine was to be erected for the storage of produce until it could be exported, and for the sale of clothing and other goods. There were to be no slaves in the new settlement.

A saw-mill, with the best appliances then known, was constructed and made ready to be forwarded to South Africa, for he intended to prepare timber for exportation. The production of wool was another of his objects, and with this view he purchased a flock of choice Spanish sheep, which he kept under his own eye in Holland, that he might be able to send out rams yearly.

Mr. Van Hogendorp took as an associate a retired military officer named Von Buchenroeder, who had a very high opinion of his own abilities, but who—as General Janssens said—succeeded in nothing, because he was a mere theorist. In Holland there had been living for some time a colonist named Hermanus Vermaak, who was one of those banished for political opinions during the British occupation, and who did not fail to speak of the land of his birth in the highest terms. He returned in 1803 as one of Mr. Van Hogendorp's agents in South Africa, the attorney-general Beelaerts van Blokland being the other.

Both Mr. De Mist and General Janssens were very willing to assist in the settlement of industrious European immigrants. They could not sufficiently express their regret that the mistake had been made of introducing negro slaves into the country; but they were of opinion that it was not too late partly to repair that error. If Europeans

in considerable numbers could be obtained as immigrants, and further importations of blacks be prevented, in course of time the negroes already in the country might have a tract of land assigned to them where they could live by themselves, and the remainder of the colony thus be made a pure European settlement. A stringent regulation was put in force that not a negro should be landed without the special permission of the government being first obtained. Holding these views, the authorities were averse even to the sale of a few slaves from ships that called, and though in several instances under pressing circumstances such sales were authorised, the number of negroes added to the population while Mr. De Mist and General Janssens were at the head of affairs was very small.

In April 1808 Major Von Buchenroeder arrived with a party of immigrants, consisting of twenty-two men, four women, and five children, when all that was possible was done to aid him. It was believed in Holland that the whole country in the neighbourhood of Plettenberg's Bay was capable of supporting a dense agricultural population, and as General Janssens had already formed a different opinion, he did not assign a tract of land to Mr. Van Hogendorp, but advised that the most suitable vacant ground should first be selected by a competent person. Major Von Buchenroeder regarded himself as the best judge of a proper locality, and he made a tour along the coast, concerning which he afterwards published a small volume that proves how just was the governor's estimate of his character. Before his return to Capetown intelligence of the outbreak of war in Europe was received, which practically put an end to the colonisation scheme, though another party, consisting of fifteen men, six women, and sixteen children, was sent from Holland by Mr. Van Hogendorp. These people, however, never reached South Africa, as they were forwarded by way of the United States, and preferred to stay there instead of proceeding farther.

Meantime the men brought out by Major Von Buchenroeder ascertained that employment could readily be had in

Capetown on terms much more lucrative to them than the wages for which they had contracted before leaving Holland. Mr. Van Hogendorp had advanced them money for outfits, and his agents tried to keep them to their engagements; but most of them gave ceaseless trouble. Von Buchenroeder, too, worried the government with long memorials and endless complaints, until the commissioner found it necessary to deal very abruptly with him. A tract of land in the valley above Hout Bay was offered to Mr. Van Hogendorp's agents to make a trial with, and the major was sent back to Holland.

The end of the matter was that in 1806 one man only of the people brought out was living on the ground, and he was getting a living as a woodcutter. There was not a square yard of the soil under cultivation. Mr. Van Hogendorp had forwarded a quantity of stores and implements from Holland, but most had been lost in two shipwrecks. The failure of the design was complete, and the promoter was some thousands of pounds out of pocket by it, without any return whatever.

Among the measures devised by Mr. De Mist for the advancement of the colony was the appointment of a commission to carry out improvements in agriculture and stockbreeding, and particularly for the conversion of Cape sheep into merinos. The commission consisted of a president, a vice-president, and twelve members experienced in farming operations, who were appointed in May 1804. No salaries were attached to their duties. The tract of land called Groote Post, at Groenekloof, was allotted to them, and paper money to the amount of 4,167*l.* was stamped and assigned as a fund to work with. Hopes were entertained in Holland of the colony becoming a great wool-producing country, and some Cape wool was woven into cloth at Amsterdam and sent back to show the farmers what could be done. The commission imported some Spanish rams, and within two years the number of wool-bearing sheep in the colony was increased to eleven thousand; but slaughter stock was still so scarce and dear that very few breeders could be

induced to exchange weight of carcase for quality of fleece. To try to improve the quality of Cape wine, a man of experience in Rhenish vineyards was engaged and brought out. Experiments were again commenced with that Will-o'-the-wisp of the early government in South Africa, the olive. On this occasion the plants were brought from Portugal.

On the 25th of July 1804 an important ordinance was published by the commissioner-general. It declared that all religious societies which for the furtherance of virtue and good morals worshipped an Almighty Being were to enjoy in this colony equal protection from the laws, that no civil privileges were to be attached to any creed, but that no religious association might hold public worship or meet in public assembly without the knowledge and consent of the governor. The time was ripe for freedom of public worship in Capetown, but in the country people were not yet prepared for such liberal measures, and they did not regard with favour an enactment that gave to Jews, Roman Catholics, and Mohamedans the same civil rights as themselves. As yet the whole rural population of European blood adhered to the Dutch reformed church. In Capetown there were residents professing almost every shade of religious belief, and in the castle itself in October 1805 a room was fitted up as a chapel, in which a Roman Catholic clergyman conducted service for the soldiers of his creed.

The Dutch reformed remained the established church of the country, however, to the extent that its clergymen were appointed by the government and drew their salaries from the public treasury. Their number in Capetown was reduced to two, of whom the senior received a salary of 338*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and the junior 300*l.* a year, with no other emoluments whatever. In June 1804 the reverend Mr. Serrurier, after forty-four years' service, retired on a pension, leaving Messrs. Fleck and Von Manger to perform the duties. It was intended that a clergyman should be stationed at each of the drostdies and at Drakenstein and Zwartland, but it was not possible to obtain a sufficient number. During the

time that the colony remained a dependency of the Batavian Republic only one new name was added to the list: that of the reverend Jan Augustus Schutz, who called in a ship in September 1803, and accepted the appointment to the church of Swellendam, from which the reverend Mr. Ballot had been removed to Roodezard in May of the same year. The churches of Drakenstein and Graaff-Reinet remained without clergymen, and no church could be formed at Uitenhage. All the ministers in the country districts received the same salary: 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year, with a house and a garden.

The ordinance which granted equal civil rights to persons of every creed also provided for the establishment of schools under control of the government and not belonging to any religious body. This was a measure altogether in advance of the times, and met with such decided opposition from the farmers that nowhere except in Capetown could such schools be founded. Better no education at all from books than instruction not based on religion was the cry from one end of the colony to the other. Before the country again changed its owners there was not time to settle this question; but had there been, without doubt the government must have given way, or have forfeited the confidence of the burghers.

Another ordinance of the commissioner-general—though it was not published until the 31st of October 1804, after he had laid down his authority—facilitated the celebration of marriages. Prior to this date all persons desiring to be married were required to appear before the matrimonial court in Capetown, to show that there were no legal impediments. From this court a license was obtained, and they could then either be married by a clergyman in Capetown, or return to their own district and be married by the clergyman of the congregation of which they were members. The ordinance of Mr. De Mist provided that after the 1st of January 1805 marriages were to take place before the landdrost and two heemraden of the district in which the bride had lived for the previous three months. The necessity for a journey to Capetown was thus done away with, and

quite as good security was provided against improper unions.

It was the commissioner-general De Mist who gave to Capetown the coat-of-arms now used by the authorities of the city. He adapted the devices from the escutcheon of Abraham van Riebeeck, who was born here, and who was governor-general of Netherlands India from 1709 to 1718. Possibly that gentleman's father, Jan van Riebeeck, may have used a coat-of-arms with three annulets in it. Mr. De Mist thought it likely that he had, but there is no certainty about it, though the probabilities are very much greater than that the portrait in the town-house, which is commonly said to be Jan van Riebeeck's, really is a likeness of the founder of the colony. The commissioner-general made the adoption of the coat-of-arms by the city of Capetown an occasion for festivity. It was the 3rd of July 1804. There was an entertainment in the town-house, and in the evening the buildings along the principal streets were illuminated.

The paper currency of the colony was increased in quantity by the commissioner-general, though the government now admitted that it had depreciated in value. When the colony was transferred to the Batavian Republic, there were in circulation one million seven hundred and eighty-six thousand two hundred and seventy-five rixdollars, which at four English shillings to the rixdollar—its nominal value—represented 357,255*l*. On the 30th of March 1804 the commissioner-general issued fresh notes to the amount of seventy-five thousand rixdollars, for the purpose of relieving the sufferers by a fire in the village of Stellenbosch on the 28th of December 1803, when the mill, the parsonage, twenty-four private dwelling-houses, and fourteen warehouses and stores were totally destroyed.¹ A few months later notes to the amount of twenty-five thousand rixdollars were issued to provide a fund for the commission for the

¹ Some time afterwards it was discovered that this calamity was caused by an incendiary, a Bengalese slave named Patientie. He was punished with death for the crime.

improvement of agriculture and stockbreeding to work with, fifty thousand rixdollars to erect the necessary buildings at the new drostdies of Uitenhage and Tulbagh, and one hundred and fifty thousand rixdollars to erect granaries, a hall of justice, and a prison in Capetown. The last sum was not, however, used for the purpose originally intended, but as a measure of necessity was placed in the military chest. The whole quantity of notes in circulation was thus raised to two millions eighty-six thousand two hundred and seventy-five rixdollars, of which eight hundred and forty-five thousand rixdollars formed the capital of the loan bank. Most of this paper was worn and nearly defaced, and some of it differed in style from other; so it was all called in, and new notes uniform in appearance, though varying in colour according to the amount represented, were issued in exchange. On this occasion a trifling sum was ascertained to have been lost, so that notes representing only two millions and eighty-six thousand rixdollars were stamped. The paper rixdollar was now computed in the government accounts as well as in private transactions at two gulden of Holland, or three shillings and four pence English money, so that the whole amount in circulation was equal to 347,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

There are strong indications in the official documents that both Mr. De Mist and General Janssens were not unfavourably disposed towards the Orange party, though they served the Batavian Republic faithfully. They were very jealous of French influence. In December 1803 an agent arrived from Mauritius, and wished to be termed French Resident; but they would not accord him that title, though they were careful not to offend him. When a French fleet put in and the admiral applied for provisions in a time of scarcity, the commissioner-general instructed the governor to give him what he needed, as it would not do to refuse, though payment might be doubtful.

Another instance of jealousy of French influence occurred in the treatment of a man named George Francis Grand, who arrived in South Africa in April 1803, and claimed the position of privy councillor and the second place in the

government. The commissioner-general De Mist knew nothing whatever of the man or the office, and he was not as much as named in any despatches received from Holland. His pretensions were therefore disregarded, though he was treated with courtesy. He was by birth a Swiss, but had been for many years in the service of the English East India Company, and had held important situations in Hindostan until for some unexplained cause he was dismissed. He could not speak a word of Dutch. At length, particulars concerning him were received from Holland, when it appeared that he had been appointed consulting councillor, with a salary of 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year. He had been for some time separated, but not legally divorced, from his wife, owing to her seduction by the celebrated Philip Francis; and she was then married to a French minister of state of the highest rank. This being the secret of Grand's appointment, Mr. De Mist did not pay much regard to his importunate requests for a seat in the council, if not the second place in the government. He was informed that he would be consulted in matters relating to the Indian trade, of which he was supposed to have special knowledge; and to this vague position he was at length obliged to submit.

On the 25th of September 1804 Mr. De Mist formally laid down his authority as commissioner-general, so that the governor might be more free to act with vigour. The great question of the time was how to place the colony in a condition for defence, as no one doubted that sooner or later it would be attacked by the English. Mr. De Mist did not profess to know anything of military matters, and thought that the governor, upon whom the responsibility would fall, should have sole authority, though they had worked together in perfect concord. There are many indications that they were both too far advanced in modern opinions to remain popular in this country much longer, unless they made large concessions to the sentiments of the colonists. General Janssens was the more flexible of the two. He was already beginning to see plainly that a body of people secluded from intercourse with Europe for more than a century could not

be dealt with in the same manner as men who had lived in the whirl of the French revolution.

Mr. De Mist resided at Stellenburg, close to Wynberg, from August to November 1804, when he removed to Maastricht, at the Tigerberg. On the 24th of February 1805 he embarked in the American ship *Silenus*, and on the following day sailed for the United States. So entirely was Dutch commerce driven from the seas that there was no other way by which he could return to Europe.

In January 1805 a post for the conveyance of letters and the *Government Gazette* was established between Cape-town and the various drostdies. A mail bag was conveyed weekly by post-riders to Stellenbosch and Tulbagh, and to the other drostdies whenever the government wished to send despatches. In this case farmers along the lines of road contracted to forward the bag from one station to another, and the landdrosts sent the letters and papers to the field-cornets with the first convenience.

As the northern boundary proclaimed by Lord Macartney did not include all the occupied farms, and as in one place it was somewhat obscure, on the 20th of February 1805 the council rectified it by resolving that it should thenceforth be the Koussie or Buffalo river from its mouth to its source in the Koperberg, thence south-eastward in as nearly as possible a straight line—but following the mountains—to the junction of the Zak and Riet rivers, thence the Zak river to its source in the Nieuwveld mountains, thence the Nieuwveld mountains to the Sneeuwberg, and thence northeastward a line enclosing the Great Table mountain to the Zeekoe river at Plettenberg's beacon. The eastern boundary as defined by Lord Macartney was not changed, though it was worded differently, namely, as the Zuurberg, thence a line along the western side of the Bamboesberg enclosing the Tarka and Kwadehoek and passing along the foot of the Tarka mountain through Kagaberg to the junction of the Bavianaans' and Fish rivers, and thence the Fish river to the sea.

It has already been stated that the high court of justice

was independent of the executive and legislative branches of the government. It was intended that all the judges should be appointed in Holland, and should be removable only by the supreme authorities there. The full court was to consist of a president and six members. As one of the judges had not arrived, and as there was good reason to suppose that he would never reach South Africa, on the 6th of October 1803 the commissioner-general, with the concurrence of the governor and the council, appointed Mr. Jan Henoch Neethling, a doctor of laws, to the vacant place. The office of secretary to the council, which he had previously held, was given to Mr. Jan Andries Truter. Mr. Gerrit Buyskes, the secretary to the high court, who was appointed in Holland, did not arrive until two years later.

The inferior courts were remodelled by an ordinance enacted by the governor and council in October 1805.

The landdrosts were to remain, as before, the chief representatives of the supreme authority in their respective districts. They were to guard the rights of the inhabitants to personal freedom and possession of their property; to encourage industry, education, the extension of agriculture, and the improvement of cattle; to maintain peace and friendship with the aborigines beyond the border; to protect the Hottentots in their rights as a free people; to preserve forests, and encourage tree-planting; to keep a record of land-grants of every kind, and to prevent the alienation of vacant ground to the prejudice of the public; to receive revenue; to take preparatory examinations in charges of crime; to cause deserters and vagrants to be arrested, and to send them, together with prisoners charged with the commission of serious offences, to Capetown for trial; and to protect slaves from ill-treatment. Their power of inflicting punishment upon slaves was limited to imprisonment for six months, the infliction of a moderate number of lashes, or placing the culprit in chains. In cases of petty crime, for which the law provided penalties not exceeding fifty rix-dollars, the landdrosts were left at liberty to compound with the offenders without public trial. The office of auctioneer

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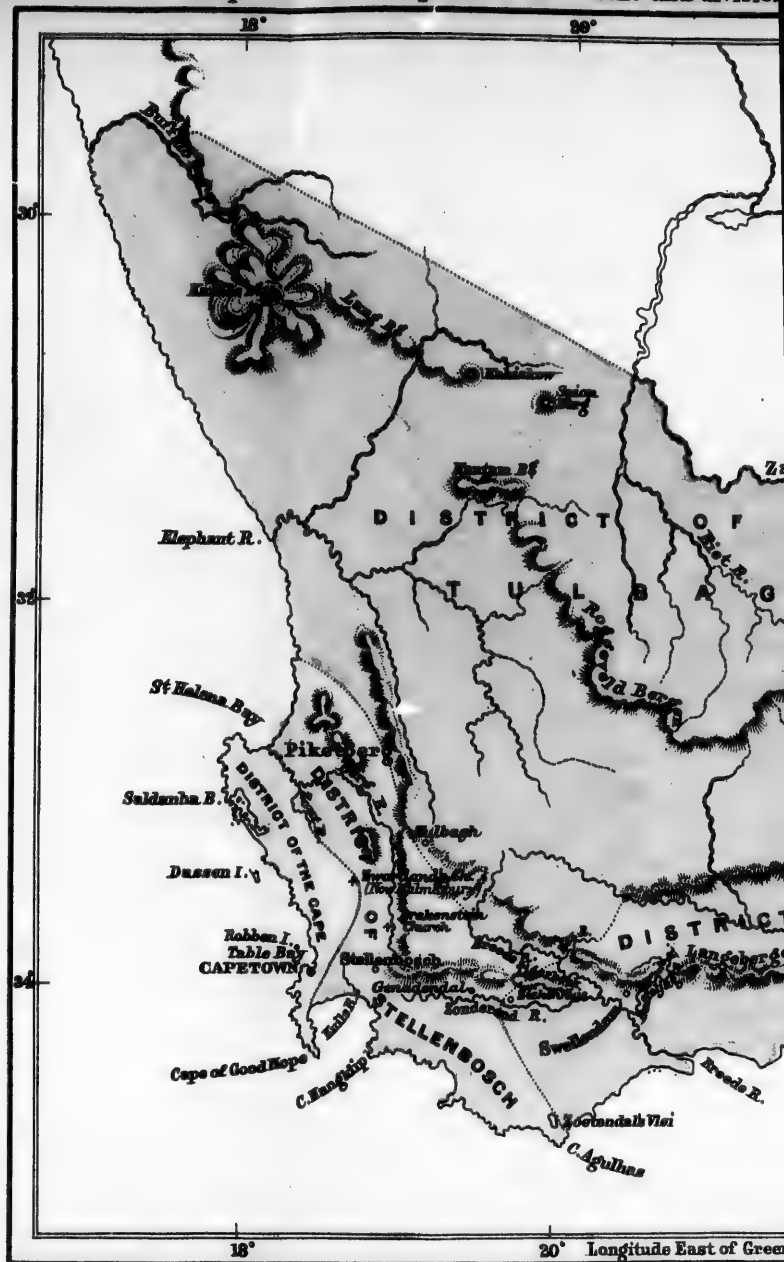


Map VII. This map shows the extent and division

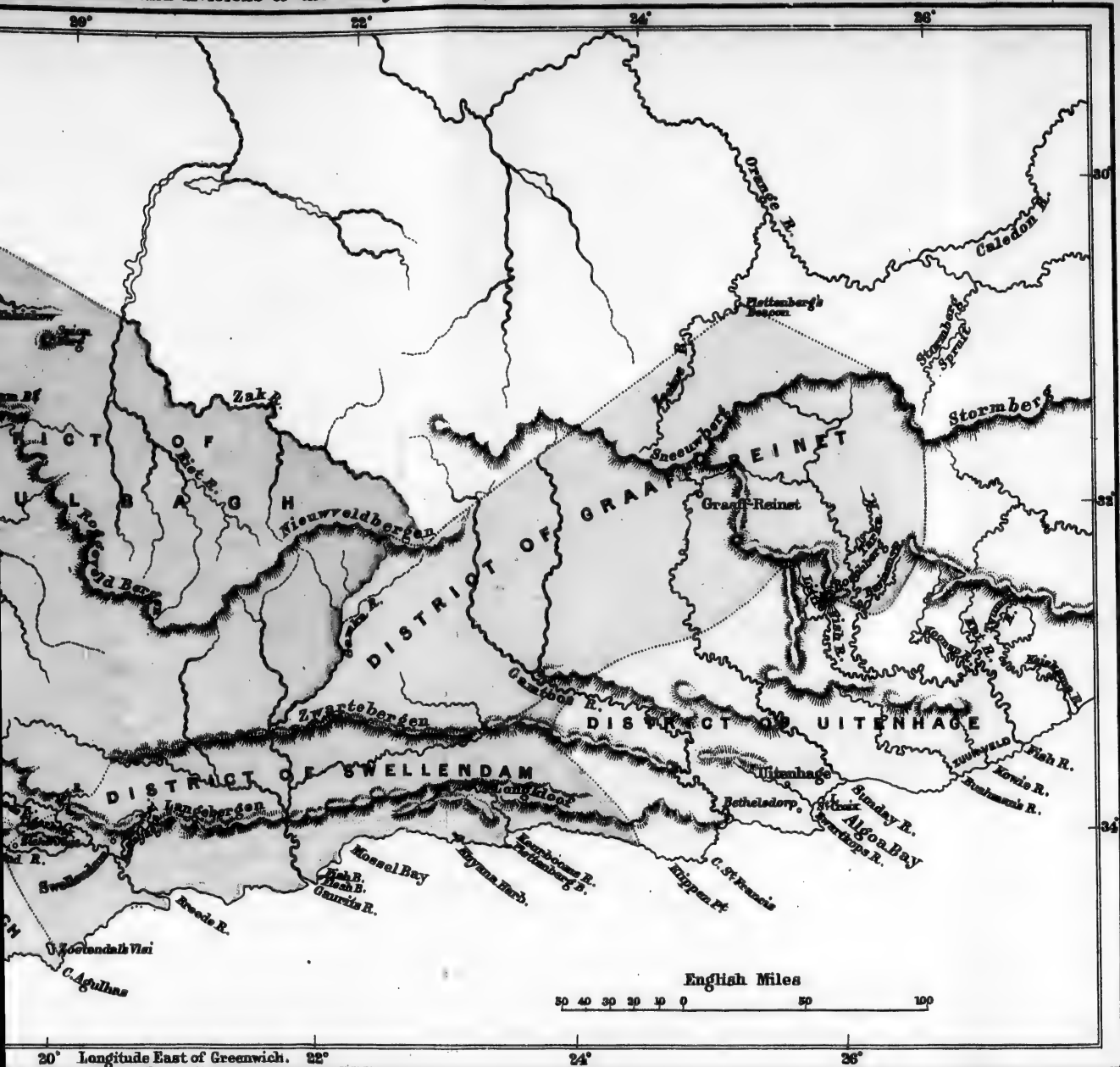
The places where there were courts of law were
 Capetown, city founded in April 1652,
 Stellenbosch, village founded in December
 1679,
 Swellendam, village founded in October
 1746,
 Graaff-Reinet, village founded in October
 1786,
 Tulbagh, village founded in October 1743,
 first landdrost appointed in August 1804,
 Uitenhage, village founded in November
 1804.

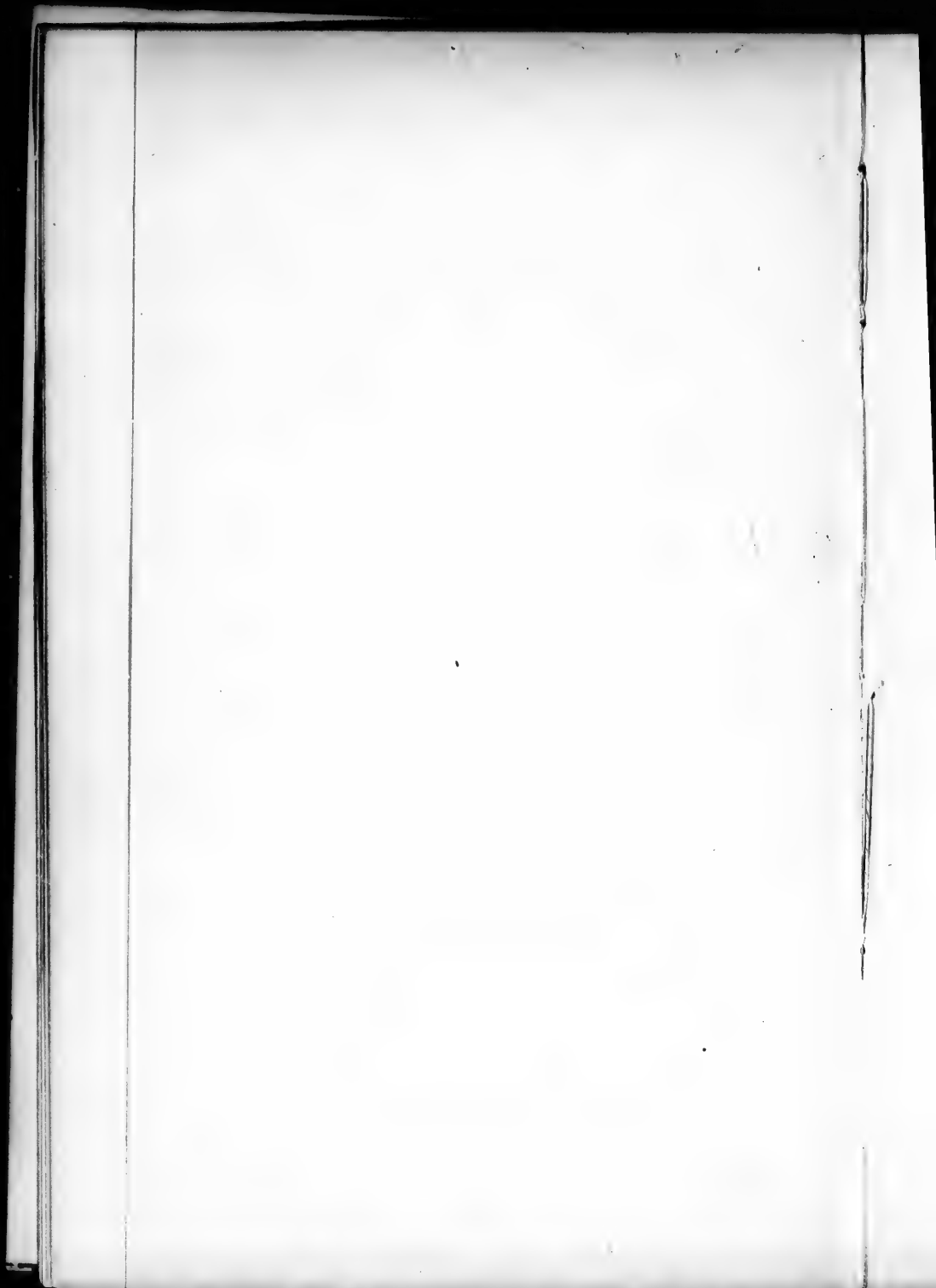
The churches were at

Dutch reformed	Capetown, established in August 1665,
	Stellenbosch, established in January 1687,
	Drakenstein, established in June 1691,
	Tulbagh, established in October 1743,
	Zwartland, (now Malmesbury), established in July 1745,
Lutheran	Graaff-Reinet, established in October 1792,
	Swellendam, established in June 1798.
Moravian mission	Capetown, established in December 1780.
	Genadendal, established in December 1792.
	Bethelsdorp, established in May 1804.
London mission	



shows the extent and divisions of the colony in 1805 under the administration of the Batavian Republic.





was separated from that of landdrost, and was attached to that of district secretary. Each landdrost was to be provided with a house, a garden, and a cattle run. He was to have a salary of two thousand five hundred rixdollars a year, and was to be entitled to specified fees for certain duties. The landdrost of Stellenbosch was to have five hundred rixdollars a year extra salary.

In each district there were to be six heemraden, selected from the most respectable and trustworthy burghers. The qualifications of these officers were the attainment of thirty years of age, residence in the district for three years, and the possession of freehold property or the occupation of a leasehold farm. They were to receive no salaries or emoluments, as their office was to be regarded as one of honour. On the formation of a new district the heemraden were to be appointed by the governor; but at the end of each succeeding year the two who had served longest were to retire, when the governor was to select their successors from a list of four names supplied by the board. A session of the court of landdrost and heemraden was to be held monthly in the districts of Stellenbosch and Tulbagh, quarterly in the other districts. The landdrost was to preside, except in case of unavoidable absence, when the senior heemraad was to take the chair. The landdrost and four heemraden were to form a quorum.

This court had jurisdiction in all disputes concerning the boundaries of farms and the impounding of cattle, all suits connected with auction sales, and all civil cases in which the amount contested was less than three hundred rixdollars. There was a right of appeal from its decisions to that of the high court of justice in cases over the value of twenty-five rixdollars. The landdrost and heemraden were to perform the duties of coroners. They had charge also of the highways, and generally of such matters as were carried out at the expense of the district. In their judicial capacity they were responsible only to the high court of justice, and criminal cases were reported by them to the attorney-general. In all other matters they were responsible to the governor.

There was a very useful class of officers, termed fieldcornets, whose sphere of duty other than military had only been recognised of recent years, as they had gradually and almost imperceptibly taken the place of the corporals of militia and the veldwachters of earlier times. The ordinance of October 1805 gave them a better position than they had previously occupied. Every district was now divided into wards, none of which were to be of greater extent than could be ridden across by a man on horseback in six hours ; in each of these wards there was to be a fieldcornet, nominated by the landdrost and appointed by the governor. He was to be a man of unblemished character, over twenty-five years of age, a resident for more than two years in the ward, and in possession of freehold property or in occupation of a leasehold farm. He was to be the representative of the landdrost, to maintain order and tranquillity, to settle petty disputes, to keep a register of the people, to make new laws known, and generally to promote industry and whatever might tend to prosperity. He was to be free of district taxation, and was to have a farm without rent or twenty-five rixdollars a year.

For military purposes the fieldcornets were to call out and lead the burghers of their wards whenever required by the landdrost. The burghers were divided into three classes. The first to be called upon for personal service were those between sixteen and thirty years of age, next those between thirty and forty-five, and lastly those between forty-five and sixty years of age. If all the men of a class were not needed, the unmarried and those without employment were to be called out before the others. Such as were not called upon for personal service were to be assessed to supply food, horses, and means of transport. When in the field, the several divisions of the burgher militia of each district were under the general orders either of the landdrost or of a commandant appointed by the governor, and the fieldcornets often had the title of captain conferred upon them. In this manner the whole European population of the colony was organised for military purposes.

During recent years reports of various kinds had reached Capetown concerning the settlements formed by agents of the London missionary society north of the Orange river, and as some of these reports were to the effect that a community hostile to the colony was growing up there, the government resolved to send a commission to inspect the settlements and obtain accurate information. The officers chosen for this purpose were Landdrost Van de Graaff, of Tulbagh, and Dr. Henry Lichtenstein, surgeon of the Hottentot corps. In May 1805 these gentlemen left Tulbagh, and travelling by way of Karoo Poort, reached the colonial boundary without difficulty. Along the route they heard numerous complaints of depredations by Bushmen, and ascertained that the arrangements made with these people in former years had completely failed in their object.

At the mission station on the Zak river they found the colonist Christiaan Botma in charge during the reverend Mr. Kicherer's absence in Europe. The Bushmen gathered together here had dispersed as soon as the missionaries' means of providing them with food failed, and only about forty individuals remained, most of whom were halfbreeds that had from youth professed Christianity. Botma, the teacher, was a man of great zeal, and had expended a large portion of his private property in maintaining the station; but it seemed to the commission that the principles on which the work was being conducted were decidedly wrong. Religious services were frequently held, and were attended by everyone on the place. But industry was not enforced, and the habits of the people formed a striking contrast to those of the residents at the Moravian institution in the district of Stellenbosch. The mission was doing no harm politically or in any other way, though it appeared to be of very little service to the few people under its influence.

Here a party of farmers joined the travellers as an escort, making the whole number up to eight Europeans, twelve Hottentots, and five slaves. On the southern bank of the Orange a horde of Kosas was met, under two near relatives

of the chief Ndlambe, who had wandered away from their own country.

The Orange was crossed at Prieska Drift. On its northern bank the missionaries Vanderlingen and Jan Kock were met, journeying from the Batlapin country towards the Cape. Kock, who understood the Setshuana language, was easily persuaded to send his family on to the station at the Zak river, and return with the commission.

At Lauw-waters-kloof, which was reached on the same day, a number of halfbreeds and Koranas were found. Here two more missionaries—Koster and Janssen by name—were met returning from the Batlapin country, having abandoned the work there. Lauw-waters-kloof was ascertained to be one of six mission villages, inhabited by halfbreeds and Koranas, with several Namaquas and a few blacks and Hottentots from the Cape Colony. The other five were Rietfontein, Witwater, Taaiboschfontein, Leeuwenkuil, and Ongeluksfontein. In these villages nearly a thousand people were living, many of whom were halfbreeds that had been wandering along the southern bank of the Orange for fifteen or twenty years, before the missionaries induced them to settle down to receive instruction. Among them were also several individuals who had grown up in the families of colonists. These had always worn European clothing, and were baptized professors of Christianity before the arrival of the missionaries.

The district in which the villages were situated—[since 1880 the colonial division of Hay]—had from time immemorial been occupied by Koranas and Bushmen, who were at bitter feud with each other. The halfbreeds, Namaquas, and colonial Hottentots were recent immigrants, who had come in with the missionaries. Small-pox in a mild form was prevalent among the people, and was said to have been brought from the north, but how or when was not ascertained. It had been unknown in the Cape Colony since 1769, and most likely had spread overland from Delagoa Bay.

At Leeuwenkuil the missionary Anderson was then residing. The travellers were greatly impressed with his

devotion to his work, and with the exemplary life he was leading. He and Mr. Kramer were the only white men living in the district, the others who had formerly assisted them having retired from that field.

The commission found that nothing was to be feared from this settlement. Mr. Anderson regarded himself as subject to the colonial government, and the halfbreeds, who gained their subsistence chiefly by hunting, were so dependent upon Europeans for ammunition and other necessities that their engaging in hostilities was out of the question.

From Ongeluksfontein, the farthest of the six villages to the north, the travellers set out for the Batlapin country. Since the journey of Messrs. Truter and Somerville to Lithako in 1801, a good deal had been heard of the Betshuana, but the different accounts by no means agreed. Among those who supplied information was the reverend Mr. Edwards. This missionary, who might be supposed to know more than any other European about the Batlapin, left the Kuruman river towards the close of 1803, and visited Capetown, where he gave the government a description in writing of the people he had been living with, some portions of which could only be regarded as fabulous. For instance, he stated that they regarded his wife as a goddess, and offered him a great number of cattle for a daughter born at Molehabangwe's kraal. In March 1805 he wished to return, but the council declined to give him permission; and shortly afterwards Messrs. Van de Graaff and Lichtenstein were instructed to include the Batlapin country in their tour.

A little beyond Ongeluksfontein the travellers met a waggon containing the families of two halfbreed brothers named Jantje and David Bergover, who had been in Jan Kock's service on the Kuruman river. They had left the Kuruman with a view of following Kock to the mission station on the Zak river, but had been attacked on the way by Bushmen, and the two men and one little girl had been murdered. The party from the south arrived just in time to rescue the other children and the women.

In the valley of the Kuruman the first Batlapin were found. The principal kraal of Molehabangwe was then only a short distance from the spot where that stream issues with great force from a cavern. The kraal was found to consist of five or six hundred huts, and to contain about five thousand people. The year after Messrs. Truter and Somerville's visit, the Barolong under Makraki had separated from the Batlapin, and had moved away to the neighbourhood of their kinsmen in the north. This migration reduced the kraal to one-third of its former size. The commission was received in a friendly manner by the old chief Molehabangwe, and by his sons Mothibi, Telekela, Molimo, and Molala. There were no missionaries remaining on the Kuruman, all who had been there having left for the colony; but it was Jan Kock's intention to return. The commission could not ascertain that any of them except Kock had made the slightest impression upon the people, and what benefit had been derived from his teaching was in an improved method of tilling the ground, not in the adoption of Christianity.

Of the Betshuana tribes to the north—the Barolong, Bahurutai, Bangwaketsi, Bakwena, and others which have since disappeared—some information was gathered, but it was not very reliable. The existence of slavery among these tribes, which was not suspected by Messrs. Truter and Somerville, was proved beyond all doubt. In fact two boys were offered for sale to the commission at the price of a sheep each. But the abject state in which the slaves were living at a distance from the principal kraal was not made known until some years later.

The Kuruman was the farthest point reached by the expedition. During the return journey nothing occurred that was of more than passing interest, and the travellers arrived safely at Tulbagh again after an absence of three months.

On the 14th of May 1804 the whaling schooner *Hope* was wrecked near Walfish Bay. The crew got safely to land, and left the wreck with a view of trying to make their way

along the coast to Capetown. On the 20th they were attacked by a party of Hottentots, and all were killed except two sailors, who were badly wounded, but were rescued on the following day by an English whaler.

On the 3rd of November 1805 during a violent gale from the north-west, three American ships were driven ashore in Table Bay, and became total wrecks. The French frigate *Atalante* also went ashore, and was dismasted and otherwise damaged, but was got afloat again after the storm subsided.

In 1805 the European population of the whole colony, according to the census returns, consisted of twenty-five thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven individuals, exclusive of soldiers. They owned twenty-nine thousand five hundred and forty five slaves, and had in their service under agreements twenty thousand and six Hottentots, halfbreeds, and Bushmen. It is impossible to say how many Hottentots were living at their own kraals, or Bushmen roaming about, for these people paid no taxes and therefore no notice was ever taken of them by the census framers. Those in service and their families were registered, in order that they might be protected. Capetown contained, in addition to public edifices of various kinds, one thousand two hundred and fifty-eight houses and stores, and had a population of six thousand two hundred and seventy-three Europeans, one thousand one hundred and thirty Asiatics and free blacks, nine thousand one hundred and twenty-nine slaves, and four hundred and fifty-two Hottentots.

From the time that news was received of the renewal of the war, General Janssens made unceasing efforts to prepare for the defence of the colony. There were a good many British subjects in the country, mostly men who had settled here as traders during the English occupation. In February 1804 a proclamation was issued, ordering them all to leave in neutral ships within two months; but this was not enforced. After the 8th of October 1804 they were required by proclamation to reside in Stellenbosch, and could only leave that village with a pass from the governor stating the object and time of their absence. Some, however,

who were married into colonial families, or who had farming interests that would suffer by their being away, were excepted, and were permitted to remain at their homes on giving a pledge that they would do nothing hostile to the Dutch in the event of the colony being attacked.

The Hottentot infantry regiment, six hundred strong, was brought to such an efficient state that it was regarded as a really serviceable corps. Its officers were colonists who understood the character of the men and how to manage them. Frans le Sueur, who was in command, had the title of lieutenant-colonel.

In November 1804 the Asiatics in and about Capetown were enrolled as volunteers in a corps termed the Javanese or Malay artillery. They were drilled with field-guns and to work the cannon in the forts, until the governor pronounced them a highly efficient and reliable body of auxiliaries.

An attempt was made to lay up a supply of grain at the old Company's estate Ziekenhuis behind the mountains of Hottentots-Holland, so that if Capetown should fall, the army could retreat and cut off supplies from the invader. But this could not be carried out, as the crop of 1803-4 was a poor one, and that of 1804-5 unusually bad. In December 1805 the government was offering the farmers around the Cape for the wheat then being reaped sixteen shillings and eight pence a muid, from which only one shilling a muid was to be deducted instead of the tithe. About Zwartkops River good crops were being gathered, and Captain Alberti was instructed to try to secure a quantity at Algoa Bay at eleven shillings and eight pence a muid clear. But this season's harvest was not out of the farmers' hands in January 1806.

General Janssens was doing his utmost to excite a martial spirit among the burghers. Drills and reviews were more frequent than ever before, flattering addresses were made by the governor on every opportunity, and no event in which bravery or patience was displayed was allowed to pass by without notice. As an instance, on the 20th of February

1805 three corporals and twenty-eight privates of the Hottentot corps deserted with their arms from the camp at Wynberg. They were pursued by parties of mounted burghers, but they were not captured until the corporals were all shot, when the privates surrendered. In skirmishing with the deserters, a burgher named Mattheus Zaaïman was killed, and Jan Roux and Jan Swanepoel were wounded. At the instance of the governor, the council hereupon resolved to give to Zaaïman's parents, Roux, and Swanepoel farms free of quitrent for life; and to present silver goblets with suitable inscriptions on them to the militia captains Willem Wium, Willem Morkel, Jan Linde, and Pieter Human.

The regular European troops of all arms were between fifteen and sixteen hundred in number. No reinforcements had been sent out since the transfer of the colony, though the original strength of the regiments in garrison was greatly reduced by desertion, ordinary mortality, and unusually heavy losses from a very malignant form of dysentery which was prevalent in November and December 1804, when most of the soldiers were in a camp on the Liesbeek river. The troops were distributed over the Cape peninsula, except a detachment of eighty men at Fort Frederick. They were poorly clad, and a supply of clothing was urgently needed. From the almost exhausted treasury of the Batavian Republic, General Janssens had drawn until recently money at the rate of £100,000 a year for military purposes of all kinds, but he was now trying to manage with a smaller sum.

So matters stood at the Cape at the close of the year 1805. For a long time an attack had been expected, and within the last few days tidings were received which set every one on the alert. On the 24th and 25th of December the French privateer *Napoleon*, which had recently brought some fifty English prisoners of war from Mauritius to the Cape and then went to cruise in the route of homeward-bound ships, was chased by an English frigate, and, to avoid capture, was run ashore on the coast south of Hout Bay.

Her crew brought the intelligence to Capetown, and it was suspected that the frigate had companions. Then came a vessel with a report that she had passed in the Atlantic a great fleet steering south, and on the 28th another arrived with news that a large number of English ships had sailed from Madeira on the 4th of October.

The fleet which was thus announced as likely to be approaching was in fact fitted out for the conquest of the Cape Colony. In July 1805, by Lord Castlereagh's order, the 59th regiment of infantry, the 20th light dragoons, three hundred and twenty artillerymen, and five hundred and forty-six recruits were embarked at Falmouth in transports belonging to the East India Company, which put to sea under convoy of his Majesty's ships *Espoir*, *Encounter*, and *Protector*. Their destination was announced to be the East Indies, but they sailed under secret orders to wait at Madeira and join a larger force which was to follow. Shortly afterwards, the 24th, 38th, 71st, 72nd, 83rd, and 93rd regiments of the line were embarked in transports at Cork, ostensibly for the Mediterranean, and, accompanied by victuallers, tenders, and merchantmen, sailed under protection of three ships of sixty-four guns—the *Diadem*, *Raisonné*, and *Belliqueux*,—one ship of fifty guns—the *Diomede*,—and two of thirty-two guns—the *Narcissus* and *Leda*. This fleet was intended to join the other at Madeira, and proceed in company to the Cape of Good Hope. The naval force was under command of Commodore Home Popham, and the troops—in all six thousand six hundred and fifty-four rank and file—were under Major-General David Baird. This officer was well acquainted with the Cape and its fortifications, having served here under General Dundas for eleven months in 1798.

The expedition left England almost without notice, as other events were then engaging attention throughout Europe. The great French army, which was generally believed to be intended for the invasion of England, was still encamped at Boulogne when the fleet sailed. While it was on its way to the Cape, the Austrians capitulated at Ulm,

the battle of Trafalgar was fought, a French army entered Vienna, and issues were decided in comparison with which the fate of the Cape Colony dwindled into insignificance.

In the morning of the 4th of January 1806 signals on the Lion's rump made known that numerous sails were in sight, and that evening the ships—sixty-three in number—came to anchor between Robben Island and the Blueberg shore. It was General Baird's intention to land his army next morning at a curve in the coast north of Melkbosch Point, from which Capetown could be reached by a march of about sixteen miles; but during the night a gale set in, and in the morning of the 5th such a heavy surf was rolling on the shore that landing was impossible.

The general then resolved to disembark his troops at Saldanha Bay, though from that port the soldiers would be obliged to make a long and weary march, and it would be necessary to keep open communication with the fleet by means of detachments posted at several stations along the route. During the night of the 5th, the *Diomedé*, with some transports conveying the 38th regiment of foot, the 20th light dragoons, and some artillery, under command of Brigadier-General Beresford, set sail for Saldanha Bay. The squadron was preceded by the *Espoir*, which was sent in advance to take possession of the port and secure as many cattle as possible.

The remainder of the fleet would have followed next morning, but at daybreak it was observed that the surf had gone down considerably. A careful examination of the shore was made, and it was found that a landing might be effected. The *Diadem*, *Leda*, *Encounter*, and *Protector* were moored so as to cover the beach with their heavy guns, and a small transport was run aground in such a manner as to form a breakwater off the landing-place. The Highland brigade, composed of the 71st, 72nd, and 93rd regiments, under command of Brigadier-General Ferguson, was then conveyed on shore. The sea was still breaking with considerable violence, but only one boat was swamped. It contained thirty-five men of the 93rd regiment, all of whom

were drowned. The 24th, 59th, and 83rd regiments were landed on the 7th, with some artillery and sufficient provisions for the immediate wants of the army. The debarkation was attended with only the trifling loss of two soldiers wounded by a company of burgher militia under Commandant Jacobus Linde, who were sent to reconnoitre.

Meantime General Janssens had assembled as many men as possible under arms. Eight hours after the fleet came in sight, the fact was known in Swellendam by means of signal guns fired from hill to hill, and before the following morning the whole country within a hundred and fifty miles of Capetown was apprised of the event. There was saddling and riding in haste, but in the short time that elapsed before the fate of the colony was decided it was impossible to make a formidable muster. It was the worst time of year for the farmers to leave their homes, as the wheat was being threshed and the grapes were beginning to ripen, while the heat was so intense that journeys could only be performed by night without utter exhaustion of man and beast.

As soon as it was known that the English were landing on the Blueberg beach, General Janssens marched to meet them, leaving in Capetown a considerable burgher force and a few soldiers under Lieutenant-Colonel Von Propalow to guard the forts and protect the town in the event of its being attacked during his absence. He had altogether an army rather over two thousand strong, but composed of a strange mixture of men. There were two hundred and twenty-four mounted burghers, under Commandants Linde, Human, and Wium. There was the fifth battalion of Waldeck, which was a body of German mercenary troops, four hundred strong; the 22nd regiment of the line, three hundred and fifty-eight strong, and the 9th battalion of jagers, two hundred and two strong, raised by recruiting from all the nations of Europe; and one-hundred and thirty-eight dragoons and one hundred and sixty artillerymen, who were mostly Dutch by birth. Then there were the crews of the French ships *Atalante* and *Napoleon*, two hundred and forty men, under Colonel Gaudin Beauchêne, who was

commandant of marines in the *Atalante*. And lastly, there were fifty-four Javanese artillerymen, one hundred and eighty-one Hottentot foot-soldiers, and one hundred and four slaves from Mozambique in the artillery train. The field-guns were sixteen in number,¹ of various sizes.

At three o'clock in the morning of Wednesday the 8th of January 1806 this motley force was under arms, and was advancing towards Blueberg from the dunes beyond Rietvlei, where the night had been spent, when the scouts brought word that the English were approaching. At five o'clock the British troops were seen descending the shoulder of the Blueberg, marching in the cool of the morning towards Capetown. General Baird had formed his army in two columns. That on the right, consisting of the 24th, 59th, and 83rd regiments, was commanded by his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Baird. The left column was the Highland brigade, under Brigadier-General Ferguson. Altogether there were about four thousand rank and file, besides the artillerymen and five or six hundred sailors armed with pikes and drawing two howitzers and six field-guns.

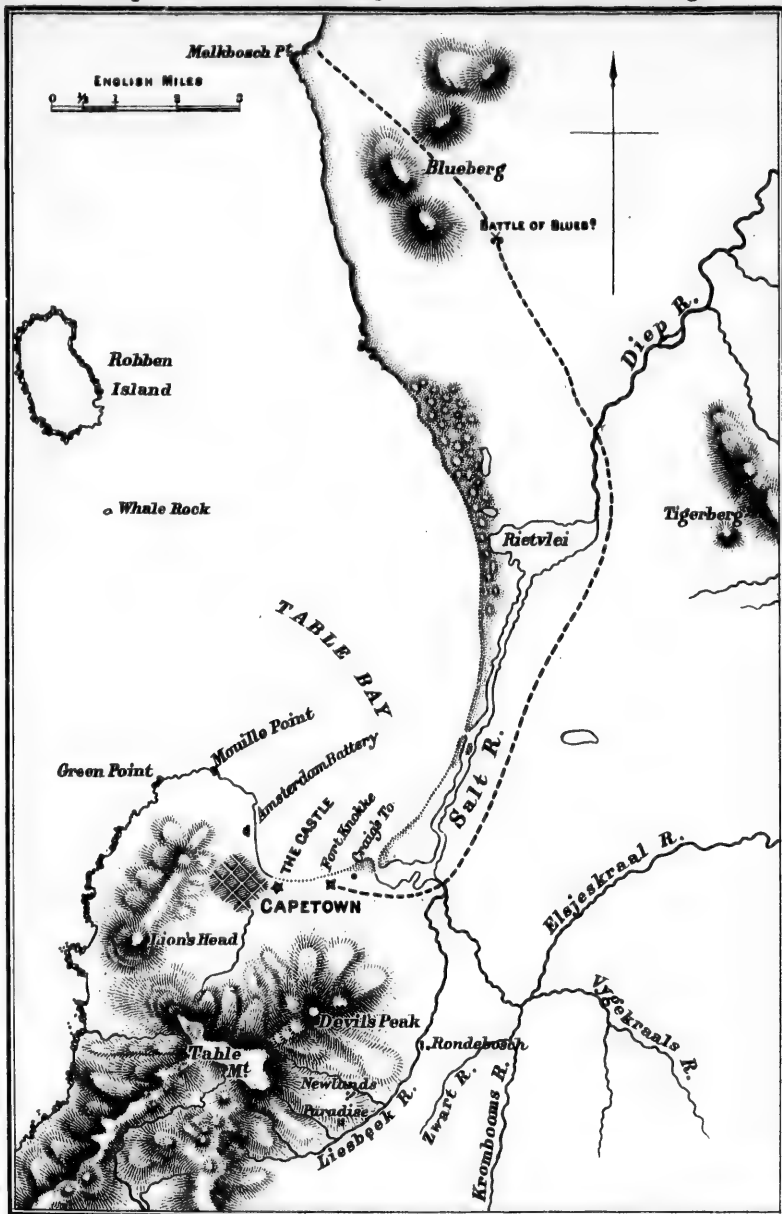
The Dutch general extended his force in a line covering the whole English front. He knew that victory was almost hopeless, and he had long before placed on record his fixed conviction that the Cape Colony was too great a burden to be borne by the exhausted mother country, and that as it could not be held without heavy expense its loss would really be an advantage. But it was his duty to defend it, and now all his thoughts were how to make the most stubborn stand. He rode along the front of the line, saying a few encouraging words to the men, and met with hearty cheers from all except the battalion of Waldeck. These mercenaries were quite as well aware as the general himself that there was hardly a chance of success against the disciplined British troops, and they were not disposed to be shot down for the mere honour of fighting.

¹ In General Baird's report, it is stated that the Dutch had twenty-three cannon, but General Janssens gives only sixteen, and his military returns made before the battle are very complete in detail. The British general also greatly overestimated the Dutch force.

By this time the armies were within cannon range, and the artillery on both sides was opening fire. A few balls fell on the ground occupied by the Waldeck battalion, and that regiment began to retreat. General Janssens rode up and implored the soldiers to stand firm, but in vain, for their retreat was quickly changed into flight. One wing of the 22nd regiment then began to follow the example of the Waldeckers. It rallied for a moment under the general's command, but resumed its flight on observing that the Highland brigade, after firing a volley of musketry at too great a distance to have much effect, was advancing to charge with the bayonet. The burghers, the French corps, the remainder of the troops, and the coloured auxiliaries were behaving well, receiving and answering a heavy fire with artillery and hunting rifles. But the flight of the main body of regular troops made it impossible for the mixed force left on the field to stand the charge of the Highland brigade, and by order of General Janssens the remnant of the army fell back. 'Adjutant-General Rancke and Colonel Henry were sent to Rietvlei to rally the fugitive soldiers there. The last to leave the field was a company of mounted artillery under Lieutenant Pelegrini, who continued firing until the general in person commanded them to retire. On the spot he promoted the lieutenant to be a captain.

The loss of the English in the battle of Blueberg was one officer and fourteen rank and file killed, nine officers and one hundred and eighty rank and file wounded, and eight rank and file missing. The Dutch loss cannot be stated with any pretension to accuracy, for the roll-call when the fugitives were rallied shows the killed, wounded, and missing together, and there are no means of distinguishing one from the other. When the muster was made that afternoon, one hundred and ten Frenchmen, one hundred and eighty-eight soldiers of the different battalions, four burghers, seventeen Hottentots, ten Malays, and eight slaves did not answer to their names. It is tolerably certain that more were killed and wounded on the Dutch

Map VIII. Illustrating the Battle of Blueberg.



To face page 118.

London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co

Stanford's Geogr. Estab.

than on the English side, though probably the excess was not great. General Janssens himself was struck by a spent ball, but it rebounded from something in his side-pocket without injuring him.

At Rietvlei the defeated army was collected together. The general resolved to retire at once to the mountains of Hottentots-Holland, but he would not take the Waldeck regiment with him, as he declared it unworthy to associate with men of valour. He ordered it immediately to march to Capetown, that it might be included in whatever terms of capitulation Colonel Von Prophalow could obtain. One company of this regiment had been in another part of the field, and had behaved well. The men asked to be treated differently, and the general gave them the choice of accompanying him or their regiment, when they unanimously accepted the first alternative. The remaining companies of the Waldeck battalion then proceeded to Capetown. The French sailors and marines had behaved with the utmost bravery, and the French officers only retired from the battlefield in company with the general and Pelegrini's artillery. Janssens was loth to part with them, but Colonel Beauchêne represented that they could be of no service in the country, so they also were directed to proceed to Capetown, and left with expressions of esteem on both sides.

The general next sent an express to Major Horn, who was in command of the garrison of Simonstown, instructing him to set fire to the *Bato*, an old ship of war which was lying at anchor in Simon's Bay as a floating fort, to destroy the powder in the magazine, spike the guns in the batteries, and proceed along the shore of False Bay to join him at Hottentots-Holland pass. The garrison of Simonstown consisted of about fifty artillerymen and two companies of the Hottentot regiment. Major Horn carried out his instructions, but so hastily that the *Bato* was only slightly damaged.

An express was also sent by General Janssens to Capetown with a letter to the members of the council, requesting them, while it was still in their power to do so legally, to

grant farms in freehold to certain burghers who had been conspicuous for bravery in the battle. The burghers, he remarked, had acted in such a way as to deserve a better fate than to be vanquished. But it was impossible to reward all. The names that he mentioned were those of the commandants Jacobus Linde and Pieter Human, the burghers Pieter Pietersen, Nicholas Swart Ps., Nicholas Swart Ks., Jan Rabe, Dirk Lourens, Servaas de Kock, Nicholas Linde, and Marthinus Theunissen, also Hans Human and Pieter Mos-terd, whose brothers were killed. Upon receipt of this letter the councillors De Salis and Wakker lost no time in making the grants and having them properly recorded. Mr. Van Oudtshoorn had long since resigned on account of bodily infirmity, and Mr. Van Polanen, who only arrived in March 1804, went to Batavia on a special mission at the beginning of 1805, so that there were only the two—De Salis and Wakker—left. This meeting in the evening of the 8th of January was the last but one that was held under the Batavian administration. On the morning of the 9th the two councillors held another session, and furnished Lieutenant-Colonel Von Prophalow with a small sum of money.

While the general was engaged in making these arrangements the soldiers and burghers were resting, but the remnant of the army now pushed on to Rooseboom. There it halted until eleven o'clock at night, when another march was made towards Hottentots-Holland. In the evening the British troops arrived at Rietvlei, where they passed the night in the open air.

In the morning of the 9th General Baird resumed his march towards Capetown. At Salt River it was easy to communicate with the ships, and preparations were made to land a battering train and a supply of provisions. But the battering train was not needed, for Colonel Von Prophalow had no thought of attempting to defend the town, as he could not do so with any prospect of success. He therefore sent a flag of truce to request a suspension of arms for forty-eight hours, in order to arrange terms of capitulation. Near Craig's tower this flag met General Baird, who would only

grant thirty-six hours, and further required possession within six hours of the lines and Fort Knokke. His demand could not be refused, and that evening the 59th regiment took possession of Fort Knokke. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th the articles of capitulation were signed at Papendorp—now Woodstock—by Lieutenant-Colonel Von Prophalow, Major-General Baird, and Commodore Home Popham.

These articles provided that the castle and other fortifications should be immediately surrendered to his Britannic Majesty's forces. The regular troops forming the garrison, and the Frenchmen of the *Atalante* and the *Napoleon*, were to become prisoners of war, and be sent to Great Britain as such, with the exception of officers of the army married into colonial families or possessing landed property in the colony, who were to be at liberty to remain in the country during good behaviour, and with the further exception of such soldiers as might choose of their own free will to enlist in his Britannic Majesty's service. Colonists in arms were to return to their former occupations. Private property of all kinds was to be respected, but property of every description belonging to the Batavian government was to be delivered up. The burghers and other inhabitants were to preserve all their rights and privileges, and public worship as then existing was to be maintained. The paper money in circulation was to continue current until his Majesty's pleasure could be known, and the public lands and buildings were to remain as security for that portion not lent to individuals. The inhabitants of Capetown were to be exempted from having troops quartered on them. And two Dutch ships sunk the day before in Table Bay to prevent their seizure were to be raised by those who scuttled them, and delivered over in a perfect state of repair.

Upon General Baird taking possession of Capetown, he found only two days' supply of flour and grain on hand. The wheat of the last crop was nearly ready for delivery by the farmers, but the season had not been a good one, and the quantity was insufficient to meet the wants of the

colonists and of the large military and naval force now added to the number of consumers. A frigate was therefore sent to St. Helena to procure all the flour and biscuit that could be spared from that island, and as soon as possible three transports sailed for Madras to obtain rice and wheat.

On the morning of the 11th three proclamations were issued by General Baird. In the first, the inhabitants of the country districts were ordered to remain quietly at their respective habitations, and were assured of protection by the British government. Any who should join the Batavian troops under General Janssens, or afford them assistance, were threatened with consequences of the most serious nature; and those inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Capetown who had retired with the Dutch army were warned that if they did not return forthwith to their usual places of abode, orders would be given for the confiscation of their effects. In the second proclamation, the civil servants and the principal inhabitants were required to take an oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty at noon that day. And in the third proclamation, Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld, a staunch friend of the British government, was appointed chief civil magistrate and councillor, "it being General Baird's intention that all the immediate duties of the civil administration should be executed by him under his Excellency's own superintendence and directions."

General Janssens had in the meantime reached the mountains of Hottentots-Holland, where he might have been able to cut off communication with the eastern part of the country if the British force had not been so overwhelming. But of what use could it be to make a stand there? The farms which produced wheat and wine would soon be subject to the English, and the country beyond would also be open to them by way of the Roodezand kloof. Only one plan of prolonging the struggle therefore remained, which was to retire to the distant interior and await the arrival of a French expedition to recover the colony. But this did not appear very feasible. The most that could be said of the position in which he was placed resolved itself at last into

this, that it was more favourable for obtaining terms than if he had fallen back upon Capetown after the defeat at Blueberg.

Within the next three days he learned that two English regiments had taken possession of the village of Stellenbosch and the Roodezand kloof, and that another regiment was about to proceed by sea to Mossel Bay, with a view of securing the Attaqua pass in the rear of his position. He ascertained also that the English general had required all the saddle-horses in the town to be taken to the barracks, where they were appraised and pressed into service, with a promise that if they were not returned to their owners when tranquillity was restored, they would be paid for. The greater number of the farmers with him being residents of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, he advised them to return to their homes, as their remaining longer might cause the confiscation of their property. But so attached were they to him and the cause which he represented that it was with difficulty they were persuaded to retire.

General Baird made the first advances, by addressing a letter to General Janssens, in which, after complimenting him for having discharged his duty to his country as became a brave man at the head of a gallant, though feeble, army, he was informed that the British naval and military forces which had possessed themselves of the seat of government were of a magnitude to leave no question respecting the issue of further hostilities, so that a temporary and disastrous resistance was all he could possibly oppose to superior numbers. Under these circumstances, nothing could result but the devastation of the country he casually occupied, and such a consequence could not be contemplated without anguish by a generous mind, or be gratifying to a man who felt for the prosperity of a colony lately subject to his administration. It was therefore trusted that he would show a disposition to promote general tranquillity.

On the 13th this letter was forwarded by Brigadier-General Beresford, who was in command of the troops at Stellenbosch, and who announced at the same time that he

was empowered to enter into negotiations for an honourable capitulation. General Janssens desired first to be correctly informed of occurrences at Capetown, and requested that Mr. Jan Andries Truter, who since October 1803 had been secretary to the council, might be permitted to visit him for that purpose. This was granted, and upon being made acquainted with everything that had transpired, he consented to the arrangement of terms. Some delay took place, owing to certain clauses proposed by one party being rejected by the other, but at length a draft made by General Janssens and modified by General Baird was agreed to and signed at Hottentots-Holland on the 18th of January.

It provided that the whole settlement should at once be surrendered to his Britannic Majesty. That the Batavian troops should retain all private property, and the officers their swords and horses; but their arms, treasure, and public property of every description should be given up. That the troops should not be considered prisoners of war, but be embarked and sent to Holland at the expense of the British government, they engaging not to serve against his Britannic Majesty or his allies before they were landed in Holland. That the officers and men should be subsisted at the expense of the British government until their embarkation, and when on board transports be treated in the same manner as British troops. That the Hottentot soldiers should be allowed to return to their homes, or to enter the British service, as they might think proper. And that the inhabitants of the colony were to enjoy the same rights and privileges as had been granted to those of Capetown according to the capitulation of the 10th, except that the privilege of quartering soldiers upon them was reserved, as the country had not the same resources as the town.

The troops composing the force with General Janssens were reduced by desertion within the last few days to one hundred and eighty officers and men of the 22nd battalion of infantry, one hundred and four officers and men of the 9th battalion of jagers, fifty-two officers and men of the 5th battalion of Waldeck, one hundred and forty-six dragoons,

and one hundred and seventy-seven artillerymen, in all six hundred and fifty-nine individuals, exclusive of a few staff officers, who were to be sent to Holland.

There were also three hundred and forty-three men of the Hottentot regiment and fifty-five men of the artillery train, who were to remain in the country. General Baird directed Major Graham, of the 73rd, to take as many of the Hottentots into the British service as could be induced to enlist. Most of them were willing to remain as soldiers, and they were formed into a corps which was soon afterwards enlarged and became known as the Cape regiment.

A good deal of trouble was caused to General Janssens after the capitulation by an act of the councillors De Salis and Wakker on the 6th of January, when the army was marching to meet the British forces at Blueberg. On that occasion the two councillors apportioned to certain individuals nearly 20,000*l.* from the military chest as compensation for prospective loss of office, with the understanding that the money was to be returned if the British forces were defeated. The transaction was intended to be secret, and no entry was made of it in the record of proceedings. General Baird contended that the money ought to be surrendered, and General Janssens entirely disapproved of what the councillors had done; but it was no easy matter to induce the recipients to restore the amounts that had been awarded to them. Ultimately, however, all except about 1300*l.* was given up. Further trouble was caused by the inability of Colonel Von Propalow to compel the persons who sank the two ships in Table Bay to raise them again that they might be delivered as prizes.

But the controversy upon this matter at length came to an end, and seven cartel ships being prepared, the troops—ninety-four officers and five hundred and seventy-three rank and file—were embarked in them. One of the best of the transports—named the *Bellona*—was placed at the disposal of General Janssens, who had liberty to select such persons as he wished to accompany him. Thirty-one of the civil servants under the Batavian administration desired to

return to Europe, and were allowed passages in the cartel ships. Fifty-three women and the same number of children also embarked. Just before going on board the *Bellona*, General Janssens, as his last act in South Africa, addressed a letter, marked private and confidential, to General Baird, in which the following paragraph occurs :

‘Allow me, sir, to recommend to your protection the inhabitants of this colony, whose happiness and welfare ever since I have been here were the chief objects of my care, and who conducted themselves during that period to my highest satisfaction. Give no credit in this respect to Mr. Barrow nor to the enemies of the inhabitants. They have their faults, but these are more than compensated by good qualities. Through lenity, through marks of affection, and benevolence, they may be conducted to any good.’

All being ready, on the 6th of March 1806 the squadron bearing the last representative of the dominion of the Netherlands over the Cape Colony, set sail for Holland.

CHAPTER XXXI.

MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID BAIRD, ACTING GOVERNOR, 10
JANUARY 1806 TO 17 JANUARY 1807.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HENRY GEORGE GREY, ACTING
GOVERNOR, 17 JANUARY TO 21 MAY 1807.

DU PRÉ ALEXANDER, EARL OF CALEDON, GOVERNOR, IN-
STALLED 22 MAY 1807, RETIRED 4 JULY 1811.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HENRY GEORGE GREY, ACTING
GOVERNOR, 4 JULY TO 5 SEPTEMBER 1811.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JOHN FRANCIS CRADOCK,
GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 6 SEPTEMBER 1811, RETIRED
6 APRIL 1814.

Property regarded as spoil of war—Confiscation of the effects of the South African chartered fishing company—Changes in the civil service—Capture of a French frigate in Table Bay—Scarcity of grain—Repeal of the marriage ordinance of Mr. De Mist—Form of government—Staff of officials sent from England—Arrival of the earl of Caledon as governor—Formation of a court of appeal in criminal cases—Matters relating to slaves—Appointment of deputy landdrosts of Tulbagh and Swellendam—Creation of the district of George—Appointment of a landdrost and heemraden for the Cape district—Unfortunate exploring expedition of Doctor Cowan and Lieutenant Donovan—Formation of a bank of discount—Increase of the paper currency—Establishment of the Moravian mission station of Mamre—Opinions concerning the London society's station of Bethelsdorp—Investigations by Lieutenant-Colonel Collins—Condition of the Kosa tribe—Matters relating to the Hottentots—Erratic conduct of the reverend Dr. Halloran—Conquest of the island of Mauritius—Shocks of earthquake in Capetown—New system of waterleadings through the principal streets of Capetown—Retirement of the earl of Caledon—Arrival of Governor Sir John Cradock—Particulars concerning the Kosas in the Zuurveld—Massacre of Landdrost Stockenstrom and a party of farmers—Expulsion of the Kosas from the Zuurveld—Foundation of Grahamstown—Establishment of deputy landdrosts at Cradock and Grahamstown—Outbreak of small-pox in Capetown—Establishment of a circuit court—The black circuit—Alteration of the land tenure—Tour of the governor—Establishment of free schools in Capetown—Enactment concerning slaves—Ecclesiastical matters—Particulars concerning new mission stations—Changes in the civil departments—Information concerning the Batlapin and the Griquas—Retirement of Sir John Cradock—Arrival of Lord Charles Somerset as governor—Revolution in the Netherlands—Cession of the Cape Colony to Great Britain by the sovereign prince of the Netherlands.

DURING the great war at the beginning of this century the unusual number of seamen and soldiers employed could only be kept up by the allurements of booty. The pay was too small to attract men, so the prospect of prize-money on a liberal scale was held out. This did not mean that the conquered were to be pillaged, but that public property acquired in war was to be divided according to fixed rules among the individuals who were so fortunate as to capture it. When the Cape Colony for the second time fell under the power of the British arms, there was not much that could be regarded as fair spoil, and in order to satisfy the army and navy it was necessary to make diligent search for everything liable to confiscation.

The greater part of the money that had been distributed from the Dutch military chest was recovered, as has been already related. The government slaves were taken into possession, and were purchased for his Majesty's service from the agents for the captors. The agricultural establishment at Groote Post was next claimed. The property of greatest value there consisted of horned cattle and sheep imported for breeding purposes. The commission for the improvement of agriculture and stock-breeding contested this claim, on the ground that the establishment was created with cartoon money which was still unredeemed. General Baird compromised the matter by purchasing the stock and implements for 5,000*l.*, to be paid out of the first available revenue, and keeping the establishment in existence for the benefit of the colony.

Then came a seizure about which many complaints were made in France and the Netherlands, and which for a long time was put forward by the enemies of England as a most unjustifiable act. To explain it, it is necessary to go back several years.

In 1789 Messrs. Fehrsen & Co., of Capetown, privately commenced a whale fishery, and two years later they obtained the consent of the government to its being carried on. In 1792 the commissioners Nederburgh and Frykenius threw open this branch of industry to anyone who chose to

embark in it under certain conditions, but Messrs. Fehrsen & Co. remained the leading people in the business. In 1798, however, their affairs were wound up, and Mr. John Murray, an English merchant of Capetown, purchased the whole whaling plant at public auction. By him the business was enlarged, and was continued until 1803, when a ship arrived from Holland with three agents of an association termed the South African chartered fishing company, which had obtained from the government of the Batavian Republic the exclusive right of killing whales in the bays of the Cape Colony, with other privileges. Murray was now forced to cease his occupation and sell his plant to the new company, taking twenty-three shares in part payment. Upon the conquest of the colony in January 1806 the property of the South African chartered fishing company was claimed by the captors as fair spoil of war. Upon investigation it was ascertained that Murray was the only colonial shareholder, and he expressed himself delighted with the prospect of being able to conduct the business again on his own account. On the ground, then, that the chartered fishing company was composed of persons who were subjects of countries at war with Great Britain, their property was confiscated for the benefit of the captors, and the whale fishery was again thrown open to any one who cared to embark in it.

Notwithstanding the hard language that was used in Holland and France concerning this occurrence, there is nothing to show that it was less justifiable than the seizure and confiscation of a Dutch or French merchant-ship would have been.

General Baird, who assumed the civil administration as acting governor, allowed most of the officials to retain their posts upon taking an oath of allegiance to the king of England; but a few preferred to return to Europe. Captain Jacob Glen Cuyler, of the 59th regiment, was sent to Algoa Bay to replace Captain Alberti as commandant of Fort Frederick and acting landdrost of Uitenhage; and a few offices in Capetown were filled temporarily by military men.

All the judges of the high court of justice, except

Messrs. Strubberg and Hiddingh, resigned, so on the 5th of April new members were appointed to fill the vacant places. They were Messrs. Clement Matthiessen, Abraham Fleck, Pieter Jan Truter, and Pieter Diemel. The office of president was kept open for Mr. Olof Godlieb de Wet, who was then in England. The former attorney-general, Mr. Beelaerts van Blokland, accepted the post of secretary. The court was reduced to the condition in which it had been before 1803. The judges could now hold at the same time other situations in the civil service, it was not considered necessary that they should be trained lawyers, and they could be removed at the pleasure of the head of the government. Mr. Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld was appointed fiscal, and also vice-president of the court of justice when cases were being tried in which he did not appear as public prosecutor.

An attempt to raise the value of the paper money was made by a proclamation issued on the 23rd of January, in which the rate of exchange was laid down at four English shillings for the cartoon rixdollar, and the exportation of metallic coin was prohibited under severe penalties. But this attempt to give value to the paper was soon found to be fruitless.

On the 4th of March a French frigate named the *Volontaire* came into Table Bay and dropped her anchor. without a suspicion that the English had become masters of the colony. When too late, her captain discovered his error, and as he could neither resist nor escape, he surrendered without firing a shot. He had left Brest on the 15th of the preceding December in company with eleven ships of the line and four frigates. Shortly after sailing, some English transports were captured, and the troops on board—detachments of the 2nd and 54th regiments—were transferred to the *Volontaire*, to be landed as prisoners of war at Teneriffe. Off that island two large ships, supposed to be English cruisers, were seen; so the frigate continued her course to Table Bay, where her captain expected to find the remainder of the fleet.

The Dutch flag was for some time after this kept flying on the Lion's rump, so that the French ships might enter the bay without suspicion; and such preparations were made that if they anchored they would be obliged to surrender. But they never made an appearance. One day a man named Cornelis Maas spread a report that he had seen them come to anchor in Saldanha Bay, thinking probably that he could give the English forces some trouble, and himself escape detection. But the story was soon found to be false, and it was then traced to its source. As a warning to others, General Baird caused the offender to be flogged round the town at a cart's tail by the public executioner, and then banished him from the colony. After this no more false reports were spread.

The scarcity of grain for some time caused great anxiety. In March the government offered thirty-five shillings a muid for wheat delivered at the magazines in Capetown, without being able to procure as much as was needed. The bakers were forbidden to sell to families more than one pound of bread a day for each adult male and half a pound a day for each woman and child. The import duties on grain were taken off, with a view of inducing merchants to send for supplies. After a few months the vessels sent to India returned with wheat and rice, and storeships arrived from England with biscuit and flour, so that actual famine was averted.

The next season was a very good one, and as the wheat was ripening General Baird adopted the old plan of the East India Company and established a granary in Capetown, with a view of keeping twenty thousand muids permanently in reserve. Paper money to the nominal value of 16,000*l.* was created for this purpose, the price offered to the farmers being sixteen shillings a muid. This method of raising a capital had now come to be regarded as quite proper, though none of the paper money created of late years had been redeemed. Indeed, so little attention was bestowed upon it that a sum of three thousand one hundred and ninety-seven rixdollars, stamped in excess of an amount required to

replace some worn-out notes, was put into circulation without any notice being taken of it at the time, and it was only when the public accounts were audited a year later that the treasury was found to be to that extent less empty than it should have been.

General Baird did not consider himself authorised to do more than what was barely necessary to maintain an efficient government until the secretary of state should issue instructions. Accordingly, he made very few changes, the only new regulations put in force by him being the following:

In February he issued a proclamation that all strangers found travelling in the interior of the colony without passes were to be arrested and sent to Capetown, a proclamation that was seldom enforced, though for many years afterwards it remained the law.

In April he annulled the marriage ordinance of Mr. De Mist, and substituted another by which the landdrost and heemraden of each district were to act as a matrimonial court for the purpose of ascertaining that there were no legal impediments to the union and issuing certificates to that effect, but marriages were to be solemnised only by ordained ministers of the Gospel.

In May he made an improvement in the postal arrangements to the distant drostdies, by engaging a number of Hottentot runners. The runners were stationed at farm-houses along the lines of road, and the farmers were required to provide them with food and quarters, but were paid twenty shillings a month each for doing so.

The regulation of 1803 that slaves were not to be landed except by special leave of the government was not formally annulled, but practically it ceased to operate as under the Batavian authorities, for in November the acting governor gave permission to Mr. Alexander Tennant, a merchant of Capetown, to import five hundred negroes from Mozambique.

The penalty to be imposed upon a farmer who should refuse to furnish his waggon, oxen, or horses for public service, upon the requisition of a fieldcornet, was raised to 10*l*.

Upon tidings of the conquest of the colony reaching England, the ministers decided that it should be ruled until the conclusion of peace in exactly the same manner as when Lord Macartney was governor. The heads of departments were to be sent out from England, and were to receive the same salaries as were paid in 1797. Du Pré Alexander, second earl of Caledon, one of the representative peers of Ireland, was selected as governor. He was then only 29 years of age, but he had already shown that he possessed abilities of a high order. In character he was upright and amiable, in disposition good-tempered, courteous, and benevolent, though when occasion required firmness no man could be more resolute than he. He was a tory as well as an aristocrat, of course, or he would not have been appointed to high office by the English government of that day; but no one could have been better adapted to make despotic government sit lightly upon a people. As lieutenant-governor and commander of the forces Lieutenant-General Henry George Grey was appointed. Mr. Andrew Barnard was restored to his old office of colonial secretary, and Captain Christopher Bird received the post of deputy secretary. The other offices of importance were also filled, but as changes rapidly took place among the holders, it would occupy space needlessly to give the names.

Lieutenant-General Grey was the first of the newly appointed staff to arrive in South Africa. As his commission authorised him to carry on the administration when the governor was absent, on the 17th of January 1807 he took the oaths of office. On the following day General Baird embarked in the transport *Paragon*, and sailed for England. He had won the esteem of the colonists by his kindly bearing towards them, and respectful addresses were presented by the public bodies on his departure. He left South Africa with the rank of lieutenant-general.

In the afternoon of the 21st of May the earl of Caledon and Mr. Barnard arrived in the ship of war *Antelope*, and on the following morning the governor took the oath of office.

The system under which the colony was henceforth ruled

was virtually a despotism pure and simple. The governor could make what laws he chose, unrestrained by a council; but he was responsible to the secretary of state, and in all important matters acted under that minister's instructions. Of his own will he could fix prices for any produce required for the army, and assess the quantity each farmer was compelled to deliver,—a power frequently used. The patronage of the civil service, except the heads of departments sent out from England, was entirely in his hands, and at any time, without even assigning a reason, he could suspend or dismiss any official appointed in the colony, with the sole exception of the president of the high court of justice. He personally directed and controlled the different departments. With the lieutenant-governor he formed a court of appeal in civil cases of over 200*l.* value.

In addition to all these powers, the earl of Caledon was vested with an office which no former governor had held, that of judge in criminal cases of appeal. The high court of justice carried on its proceedings according to an enactment of Philip II in 1570, by which a final sentence could only be pronounced in criminal cases when the accused confessed his guilt or the evidence against him was direct and overwhelming. In other cases an appeal could be carried to a superior court. Under the rule of the East India Company, appeals were made to the high court of justice at Batavia, a copy of the evidence being forwarded, upon which a decision was given. Under the British administration from 1795 to 1803 a number of sentences of death were not carried out, owing to absence of confession of guilt and the want of a final tribunal. The earl of Caledon was instructed to appoint one or two assessors, and to act with them as a court of appeal in criminal cases. This was independent of his power of mitigating or suspending sentences passed by the inferior courts.

On the 25th of March 1807 the parliament of Great Britain abolished the slave trade in British ships and by British subjects to or from any part of the coast of Africa, to take effect from the 1st of May. When this was

communicated to the Cape government, Mr. Tennant had only received three hundred and eighty-three out of the five hundred slaves which General Baird had given him leave to import, but he had contracted with a Portuguese sea-captain to bring another cargo. Towards the close of the year the Portuguese vessel arrived in Table Bay, with two hundred and twenty slaves on board. After a little consideration, the governor resolved to allow one hundred and seventeen to be landed; but as Mr. Tennant had no permission to import a greater number, he refused to let the remainder be put ashore. These hundred and seventeen slaves were the last that were openly landed and sold in the Cape Colony; but it was discovered at a later period that some had been smuggled in.

With the earl of Caledon's concurrence, Mr. Tennant directed the vessel to proceed with the balance of her freight to South America. On the passage she was captured by his Majesty's ship *Harrier*, and was sent back to Table Bay with a prize crew, on the ground that the owner of the slaves was a British subject. Her arrival—in January 1808—caused a good deal of perplexity. The ship was in need of repair, and so the slaves were placed on Robben Island until some decision could be come to. But in a south-east gale she parted her cable, was driven to sea, and was finally wrecked on Jutten Island. The governor then made up his mind. The negroes could not be left where they were, they could not be sold as slaves in the colony, and they could not be exported, so Mr. Tennant was obliged to content himself with having them apprenticed to him for a period of seven years.

In July 1807 Lord Caledon proposed to the secretary of state that the government slaves should be sold, and the lodge be converted into public offices. Under the Batavian administration the establishment had been greatly reduced, and at this time it consisted of only one hundred and eighty-nine men, seventy-three women, and twenty-three children. Some of the men and women were so old and infirm as to be unfit for severe labour, and the cost of their maintenance

was greater than the benefit derived from them. All the public offices were in the castle, where room was required for the military staff, so that a double purpose would be served by getting rid of the slaves. His Excellency was of opinion that it would be more advisable to sell them than to set them free, as in the latter case they would almost certainly become idle paupers. 'The law,' he wrote, 'affords the slaves ample redress against the ill-usage of their masters, nor does the bad treatment of them often require its intervention.'

The governor's proposal was modified by the secretary of state in such a manner that the inmates of the lodge were not put up to public auction; but respectable people—especially military officers—were permitted to select slaves and to remove them on payment of 30*l.* for each one, the governor's permission in every instance being necessary. In this manner the number was slightly reduced, and in August 1810 those who remained were confined to one wing of the lodge, and a portion of the space vacated was converted into chambers for the judges. Another portion was cleared away, and on the vacant ground was constructed the present hall of justice, which was opened for use on the 19th of January 1815. In March 1811 the slaves who were left were removed to a smaller building at the upper end of the garden, in the grounds of the present South African college. The western wing of the lodge was then converted into offices. At the same time a roadway—named Bureau-street—was opened between the Heerengracht and Church-square, the church grounds having previously extended to the side wall of the lodge. Gradually different officials were moved from the castle, the colonial secretary remaining there until the 1st of March 1814; and the old slave lodge—greatly altered, however, and partly rebuilt—became, what it still remains, suites of offices for various departments of government.

For nearly three years after the surrender of General Janssens the utmost tranquillity prevailed throughout the western part of the colony, but in October 1808 a slight disturbance took place.

In Capetown there was living a slave named Louis, a native of the island of Mauritius. His wife was a free woman, and he paid his owner a fixed sum monthly and worked about town, a custom not uncommon in those days. The old law that people of half European blood should be free on coming to the age of twenty-five years had fallen into disuse, and Louis was so light in colour that he was able to pass for a white man. In his house a young Irish labourer, named James Hooper, lodged; and between them a wild impracticable plan was concocted for setting at liberty the whole slave population. They purposed to induce a large number of blacks in the country to join them, and then to make themselves masters of Capetown and proclaim a general emancipation.

The next to enter into the conspiracy was a black slave named Abraham, who was born at the Cape. Early in October Hooper and Abraham rode on horseback to the farm of Pieter Louw, at the Zwartland, where Hooper represented himself as a traveller and the black as his servant. They stayed there overnight, and Abraham persuaded the slaves, who were numerous, to join the plot. After their return to Capetown, a young Irish sailor named Michael Kelly became their associate.

On the 24th of October 1808 Hooper hired from a livery stable a tent-waggon with eight horses, stating that it was for an English officer who was going to Rietvlei on duty. He, Louis, Abraham, and Kelly then went in the waggon to Louw's farm in Zwartland, where Louis, who was dressed in military costume and wore a sword, was represented as a Spanish sea-captain. Louw was not at home, but his family entertained the strangers in the usual hospitable manner. Next morning early the two white men abandoned the enterprise and left the place on foot, but Louis and Abraham were joined by ten slaves and a Hottentot, and, taking possession of Louw's waggon, they proceeded to the farm of Willem Basson. Here they announced that the fiscal had given orders for all the slaves to repair to

Capetown to be set free, and that the white men were to be made prisoners.

Being joined by Basson's slaves, they took possession of his horses, vehicles, guns, ammunition, and whatever provisions they could find. In this manner thirty-four different farms at Zwartland, Koeberg, and Tigerberg were visited, from each of which the white men, after being bound, were removed, and all the horses, carts, waggon, guns, and ammunition were taken away. Provisions and brandy were also freely appropriated, but not a drop of blood was shed during the whole of the rash proceedings. In some places the slaves refused to join the insurgents.

On the 27th the different parties into which the band had divided turned towards Capetown, which was then garrisoned by nearly five thousand soldiers. That evening the occurrence was reported to the governor, who at once sent out a strong body of cavalry and infantry, and within a few hours three hundred and twenty-six slaves were made prisoners without the slightest resistance. Five of the leaders escaped at the time, but were apprehended shortly afterwards.

A brief examination by the fiscal showed that far the greater number of the insurgents really believed they had been acting under his orders, in consequence of which all but fifty-one were sent back to their masters, with a caution to be more careful in future. The white men who were confined in waggon were released, and the plundered property was restored to its owners.

The fifty-one prisoners were brought to trial before the high court of justice, and on the 7th of December sentence was pronounced. Sixteen were condemned to be hanged and their bodies to be afterwards exposed in various places, one was acquitted, and the remaining thirty-four were condemned to various kinds of punishment. The sentences were mitigated by the governor, however, so that only Louis, Hooper, Abraham, and two slaves who had taken a leading part, were hanged and afterwards exposed in chains. Seventeen suffered various punishments ranging from being

flogged to imprisonment with hard labour in chains for life, and the others, after witnessing the executions, were sent back to their masters.

Upon the abolition of the oceanic slave trade, the Cape Colony was made the receptacle for negroes rescued in the southern seas, a most undesirable class of people to be introduced into a country adapted for European colonisation. Such British vessels as were detected with slaves on board, and such slave ships belonging to nations at war with England as were captured by British cruisers, were sent to Table Bay to be condemned by a court of admiralty. The negroes were placed under the care of the collector of customs, and with the governor's concurrence were apprenticed by him for a period of fourteen years to such persons as he approved of. In this manner was introduced a large proportion of the people from whom the present coloured population of the colony is descended.

By the earl of Caledon the number of magistrates was increased, as in his view the districts were too large for proper supervision.

On the 1st of February 1808 a portion of the district of Stellenbosch was cut off and added to Tulbagh. The new boundary of Tulbagh was declared to be the Berg river from its mouth to the junction of the Koopmans river, the Koopmans river to its source, the mountain range to Baviaans' Kloof, and a line crossing the Bosjesveld in a north-easterly direction through Gorees Hoogte to the Zwartebergen. The opstal of the farm Jan-Dissel's-Vlei was purchased from Mr. S. van Reenen for six thousand rixdollars, and a deputy landdrost was stationed there, to collect revenue and exercise jurisdiction in petty cases. He was subject to directions from the landdrost of the district. Mr. Daniel Johannes van Ryneveld received the appointment of deputy landdrost, and held the situation until the 1st of January 1810, when he was succeeded by Mr. Jan Hendrik Fischer.

On the 31st of March 1809 the court of commissioners for petty cases in the Cape district was abolished, and a

court of landdrost and six heemraden was created, so as to bring the system of administering justice into uniformity with other parts of the colony. A distinction, however, was made between Capetown, Simonstown, and the remainder of the district. In Simonstown a deputy fiscal was stationed, who held a court for the trial of petty cases, and the landdrost and heemraden had no judicial authority, but performed municipal duties and the duties of a matrimonial court. In Capetown the landdrost and heemraden succeeded to the duties of the court of commissioners for petty cases and the matrimonial court, but had no other authority, the burgher senate being charged with municipal duties. In Capetown was included the suburb Papendorp—now Woodstock—until the 23rd of April 1814, when the military lines between Fort Knokke and the Devil's peak were declared the boundary between the town and the district. In all other parts of the old Cape district the landdrost and heemraden had the same powers and duties assigned to them as similar boards elsewhere. Mr. J. Zorn was appointed first landdrost.

On the 23rd of April 1811 that portion of Swellendam east of the Gaurits river was proclaimed a separate district, and received the name of George, from the reigning king. The site selected for the drostdy was the old government post at Outeniqualand. Mr. Adriaan Gysbert van Kervel received the appointment of first landdrost of the new district.

On the same date a portion of Stellenbosch was cut off, and added to Swellendam, so as to extend it to the westward. The new division was the Steenbrazem river to its source, and thence an ideal line to the mountain range, leaving Houwhoek and Baviaans' Kloof in Swellendam. A deputy landdrost was stationed at the Zwartberg baths, now the village of Caledon. Mr. Jan Hendrik Frouenfelder received the appointment.

In October 1808 an expedition was fitted out by order of Lord Caledon, with the object of exploring the country between Lithako and the Portuguese province of Mozambique. It consisted of Dr. Cowan, assistant surgeon

of the 83rd regiment, and Lieut. Donovan with twenty Hottentots of the Cape regiment. They had as guides a white man named Kruger and a halfbreed, both of whom had for many years been wandering among the Betshuana and Korana tribes. The missionary Anderson accompanied the expedition as far as the Bangwaketsi, who are described in a letter from Dr. Cowan as 'so far civilised that the wealthy inhabitants are possessed of slaves and servants.' Dr. Cowan's letter was dated on the 24th of December, from latitude 24° 30' S., longitude 28° E., but the latter is probably incorrect. From this place Mr. Anderson turned back, and brought to the colony the last authentic tidings of the expedition. Nothing certain is known of the fate of the explorers. According to reports received from individuals of the southern Betshuana tribes during the next few years, they were all murdered by people farther north; but these accounts differ greatly, and cannot be relied upon. It is now generally supposed that they perished of fever when not very far from Mozambique.

In August 1808 the loan bank was made also a bank of discount. In June 1810 its capital was increased by five hundred thousand rixdollars, stamped by the government for the purpose. Before March 1814 another half-million rixdollars were created in different instalments, for the purpose of erecting and repairing public buildings. The amount of paper money in circulation was thus increased to three million one hundred and sixty-nine thousand one hundred and ninety-seven rixdollars. The rate of exchange, as shown by tenders for treasury bills at the time of these issues, was from two shillings and two pence to two shillings and six pence for the rixdollar.

The Moravian institution at Genadendal had proved of the greatest utility to the Hottentots there. The missionaries, working quietly and avoiding interference with political questions, were esteemed alike by the government, passing strangers, and the colonists; while the results of their labours were visible not only on their own grounds, but in the appearance and conduct of the people under their

care who went out to work among the farmers. The only objection to their system was made by missionaries of other denominations, who were of opinion that the Moravians kept their pupils under tutelage to such an extent that they could not exercise the social and political rights of men. But that was just the feature of their system most admired by thoughtful observers who admitted that people emerging from barbarism require constant guidance and control.

Lord Caledon was so impressed with the good work done by the Moravians at Genadendal that he urged them to form another station. In the large tract of land called Groenekloof there had been from the early days of the settlement a location reserved for the remnant of the Hottentot clans that under the name of Cochoquas, Goringhaiquas, and Gorachouquas, were found in possession of the whole Cape district when white men first settled in South Africa. Small-pox and brandy had nearly exterminated those people, but still a few remained, with whose blood that of Europeans and of negro slaves had been mixed sufficiently to give them some stamina. When Groenekloof was set apart as pasture ground for the butcher who contracted to supply the government with meat, it was stipulated in the contract that he should not deprive the Hottentots of any land which they required for their own use. But after the terrible loss of life occasioned by the first outbreak of small-pox, the government thought it better to reserve a special tract for the natives, and this had ever since been in their possession. It was not surveyed, nor was a title-deed issued, but white people were prevented from encroaching upon it, and it was as well defined as the ordinary loan farms: In 1804 a burgher whose sheep the Hottentots had stolen made an attempt to drive them from that part of it which was called Louwskloof, but Governor Janssens and the council protected them in their rights. Their reserve adjoined the government farm called Kleine Post, upon which there was a good dwelling house and some outbuildings.

In December 1807 Lord Caledon invited the Moravians to establish a mission there, and offered them the Kleine Post

property for the purpose. The offer was accepted and in March 1808 the mission was commenced. The new station was named Mamre.

The London society's station of Bethelsdorp was not regarded with favour by the authorities. Outside of the missionary circle an opinion was unanimously held that no good was being done there, that the Hottentots were encouraged in idleness, and that the place was a retreat for bad characters. Men who cannot be suspected of unfriendly feelings towards the native races or the Christian religion agreed with the colonists that it would be better if the station were broken up. Major Richard Collins, of the 83rd regiment, who was directed to inspect and report upon it, recommended that the London missionaries should not be permitted to teach Hottentots, but be confined to the Bushmen on the northern border, where they should be placed under the superintendence of respectable farmers; and he advised that the people assembled at Bethelsdorp should be allowed the choice of retiring to one of the Moravian stations, or of going into service with colonists. The judges of the high court of justice, the military officers at Fort Frederick, and the landdrost of Uitenhage concurred in this opinion.

Lord Caledon thought that if the station were moved to more fertile ground in the neighbourhood of Plettenberg's Bay it might answer better, and in December 1807 he directed Mr. Faure, landdrost of Swellendam, to meet Dr. Vanderkemp at the house of Mr. George Rex, an English gentleman residing on the farm Melkhoutkraal at the Knysna, and select a suitable place. But Messrs. Faure and Rex reported that 'nothing could be done or proposed satisfactory to Dr. Vanderkemp.' The governor then declared his resolution to remove two-thirds of the Hottentots to some better place, and to prohibit Kaffirs from settling at Bethelsdorp; but he did not carry this intention into effect.

A great many complaints having been received concerning depredations by Bushmen along the northern border, early in 1808 Lord Caledon sent Major Collins to

inspect the country and, if possible, to devise some remedy. The major ascertained that the complaints were not exaggerated; but the suggestions which he made could not be carried out.

In the following year the same officer, then a lieutenant-colonel, was sent to explore the country north-east of the colony, and to ascertain the condition of the different branches of the Kosa tribe. To enable him to carry out his duties thoroughly, he was appointed special commissioner of the districts of Uitenhage and Graaff-Reinet, and was empowered to issue any instructions there that he might consider necessary.

On the 23rd of January 1809 Colonel Collins, with Dr. Cowdery, who was assistant surgeon of the 83rd regiment, Mr. Andries Stockenstrom junior, and a party of attendants, left the village of Graaff-Reinet, and travelled almost due north to the Orange river. They then traced the stream upward, and on the 3rd of February saw a river of considerable size pour its waters into the Orange on the side opposite to that on which they were. Colonel Collins named it the Caledon in honour of the governor. Two days later they crossed a stream which was believed to be the same that at its source was called the Stormbergspruit by the farmers of the Tarka, so no name was given to it. On the 7th they came to another stream of considerable size flowing from the south into the Orange. Colonel Collins named it the Grey river, in honour of the lieutenant-governor and commander of the forces, but it is now known as the Kraai. The party could not find a ford to cross this stream, so they kept up its left bank for a short distance, and then turned towards the Tarka. In the previously unknown country through which they had travelled there were no inhabitants except a few Bushmen and a little party of Kosas of the Imidange clan, under the petty captain Dlela, who had wandered away from the rest of their people.

The travellers now directed their course south-eastward until they crossed the Amatola mountains, when they turned to the north-east, and passed the Kei just below the junction

of the Kabusi. A ride of three hours from the Kei brought them to the kraal of Buku, right-hand son of Kawuta, and chief of a large section of the Galekas. Another ride of six hours brought them to the kraal of Hintsa, great son of Kawuta, and consequently paramount chief of the whole Kosa tribe. His kraal was in sight of the sea, about midway between the Kei and Bashee rivers. Colonel Collins ascertained that a few years previously Hintsa had resided on the right bank of the Kei, but owing to a quarrel with Gaika he now kept east of that river. He was on good terms with the Tembu tribe, and was nearly related to its paramount chief Vusani, then a minor, his mother having been a sister of Daba, Vusani's father. The Tembus lived near the sea between the Bashee and Umtata rivers, but one small clan of that tribe, under a petty captain named Tshatshu, occupied a kraal only a few miles east of the Tsomo.

On the coast near Hintsa's kraal two white men were found living after the manner of savages. One was a deserter from the British army, named Henry McDaniel, the other was a South African named Lochenberg. They could not be induced to return to the colony.

The travellers went no farther than Hintsa's kraal. They returned by the upper Keiskama, where they had an interview with Gaika, who was found very poor, as his enemies had driven off nearly all his cattle. The country from the Kei to the colonial boundary was without inhabitants, except in the valleys of the upper Keiskama and Kat rivers.

In the Zuurveld Colonel Collins visited Ndlambe and his son Umhala, and ascertained that there was not the slightest intention on their part to leave the colony. At Uitenhage he issued an order interdicting intercourse of any kind between the white people and the Kosas.

In his report to the governor, dated 6th of August 1809, Colonel Collins advised that the Kosas in the colony should be expelled by force, and that plots of land only one hundred and twenty acres in extent should be offered to Europeans at a very low rent, so as to obtain a tolerably

dense population in the Zuurveld. He recommended that the boundary farther north should be extended to the Koonap river, and the district thus annexed be filled with colonists in the same manner. Further, he was in favour of establishing magistrates close to the boundary, so as to prevent intercourse between the colonists and the Kosas and to maintain order.

In 1809 a radical change was made in the legal position of the Hottentots within the colony. The theory of the Dutch law was that the Hottentots were a free and independent people, entitled to govern themselves and to come and go when and where they liked except upon private property. Their personal liberty had never been interfered with, except in the instance of children of Hottentot mothers and slave fathers, born and reared upon farms, who could be claimed as apprentices upon reaching the age of eighteen months, as has been recorded in a preceding chapter; and in the instance of a small number of Hottentots of both sexes who lived in a disreputable manner on the Cape flats and in the outskirts of the town, who were placed under strict surveillance by a resolution of the council of policy on the 29th of June 1787. They were regarded as subject to the colonial courts only in cases where the interests of white people were affected. They paid no taxes, and could not be called out for public services as white men were.

This was the theory of the law, but in point of fact tribal government of the Hottentots had long since ceased to exist within the colonial boundaries. There were still plots of land reserved for their use, and at each reserve there was a captain acknowledged by the European authorities, but he had really little or no power over his people. The inherent weakness of the Hottentot tribal government caused it to disappear in the presence of a civilised power. The great majority of the Hottentot people were of their own accord living with farmers, and regarded the poorest white man with much greater respect than they regarded the hereditary chiefs of their own race. Thus it became a

necessity for the European courts of law to take cognisance of such crimes as murder and assault committed by one Hottentot against another not on a reserve; but in general petty offences among themselves went altogether unpunished.

This system was very objectionable to the British administration from 1795 to 1808, but no attempt was then made to alter it. To General Janssens it seemed natural enough, and in his agreement with Klaas Stuurman he marked his approval of it, much to the astonishment of the succeeding government. The earl of Caledon resolved to do away with it entirely, and on the 1st of November 1809 he issued a proclamation which removed all vestiges of chieftainship from the Hottentots in the colony, and restrained those people from wandering about at will.

The preamble of the proclamation asserts a necessity that Hottentots, in the same manner as other inhabitants, should be subject to proper regularity in regard to their places of abode and occupations, and that they should find encouragement for preferring to enter service rather than lead an indolent life, by which they were rendered useless to themselves and the community at large.

The governor therefore ordained that every Hottentot in the different districts of the colony, in the same manner as other inhabitants, should have a fixed place of abode; that an entry thereof should be made in the office of the fiscal or the respective landdrosts; and that no Hottentot should change his residence from one district to another without a certificate from the fiscal or the landdrost of the district from which he was removing, which certificate he was to exhibit to the fiscal or the landdrost of the district where he intended to settle, for the purpose of having it registered. Every Hottentot who should neglect this regulation was to be considered a vagabond, and be treated accordingly.

All contracts of service of Hottentots for a month or a longer period were to be made in writing before the fiscal, a landdrost, or a fieldcornet, and a copy was to be registered. In case of this not being done, the Hottentot could claim

the benefit of the engagement, but the employer had no ground for action. Ample provision was made in the proclamation for the enforcement of punctual payment of wages, for the release of the Hottentot upon expiration of the term of service, and for his protection from ill treatment.

Lastly, every Hottentot going about the country was required to be furnished with a pass, either from his commanding officer if he was in the military service, or his employer, or the magistrate of the district, under penalty of being considered and treated as a vagabond. All persons were empowered to demand a pass from any Hottentot who appeared on their farms, and in case of his not being provided with one, to deliver him up to a fieldcornet, landdrost, or fiscal.

From this date Hottentots in every case were regarded as subject to the colonial courts of law, to taxation, and to be called upon to perform public services.

The locations assigned by General Janssens to people of this race had in no instance answered their purpose. Not a family of those sent from Rietvlei in 1803 remained upon the ground allotted to them, their love of change and of a wandering life having overcome any desire they ever had for a place that could be called home. After 1806, therefore, the ground was not spoken of or regarded as reserves for their use. The location given to David Stuurman and his people on the Gamtoos river was occupied some years longer, but from the first it was a public nuisance. Stuurman, whose disposition was violent, harboured Kosas there, and made his kraal a place of refuge for idlers and bad characters. He entered into an agreement with Cungwa, which was to all intents and purposes an offensive and defensive treaty against the colony. In 1810 he proceeded so far as to set the European authorities at defiance. Having given shelter to two runaways from contracts of service, whom he refused to surrender and prepared to protect by force, he was summoned to appear before the court of the landdrost, but did not obey. An armed party was

then sent against him, and he was captured with some difficulty. He was tried by the high court of justice and sentenced to imprisonment for life, when the location was broken up.

In a small society like that of Capetown at the beginning of this century, the acts of a single erratic individual are often sufficient to keep the whole community in a condition of turmoil. During the greater part of the time that Lord Caledon was governor the leading people of the place were frequently annoyed by anonymous letters, containing threats, criticisms of their conduct, and aspersion of their characters, without anyone suspecting the real author. There was as yet in the colony no clergyman of the English church except the military chaplains, the reverend Dr. Laurence Halloran and the reverend R. E. Jones. The Dutch congregation lent their place of worship, and Dr. Halloran held service for the English residents every Sunday. He was a man past middle age, well educated, and possessed of considerable ability. He wrote poetry which was above the medium order of merit. But he was not at all a lovable man, and there was something even in his appearance that was unattractive. His disposition was quarrelsome, and his pulpit utterances were often galling. As an instance, after a rupture with the government one Sunday he preached from the text *Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil: the Lord reward him according to his works*, and directed his remarks at the colonial secretary, Mr. Henry Alexander, the governor's cousin.

The Latin school in Capetown had been resuscitated by the commissioner De Mist, and the situation of rector being vacant, Dr. Halloran applied for it, and obtained the appointment. He hoped to hold it without giving up the military chaplaincy, but on the very day that he commenced the duty—1st of June 1810—he received from General Grey, whom he had annoyed, an order to remove to Simonstown, where a body of troops was stationed. This led to his resigning his appointment in the army, pending the pleasure of the king. A few weeks later General Grey received several anonymous

letters, in one of which there was a quotation in Greek that was recognised as the ordinary handwriting of Dr. Halloran. This was reported to the governor, who ordered him to be brought to trial for the offence.

He was charged before the high court of justice with writing, composing, and publishing infamous libels against General Grey. For some time he refused to plead, as he denied the competency of a Dutch court to try a man holding an appointment in the British army until the resignation of that appointment was accepted by the king. This, of course, availed him nothing, and upon being found guilty, on the 10th of December 1810 he was condemned to be banished for ever from the colony and to pay the costs of the prosecution. Further, for offensive and slanderous expressions to the court, he was sentenced to pay a small fine and to be detained in the public prison until he could be sent out of the country.

This sentence was confirmed by the court of appeal for criminal cases, and it was carried into effect by Dr. Halloran being confined in prison for five weeks and then being sent home in a man-of-war. Upon his arrival in England, he attempted to create sympathy by publishing the records of the trial; but, instead of that, he drew upon himself an inquiry into his past life, when it was discovered that his certificate of ordination was forged. His title of doctor in divinity had been obtained by favour from the university of Aberdeen.

This discovery caused some anxiety at the Cape, as he had united a good many couples in marriage, and it was feared that such marriages might not be valid in law. The matter was set at rest, however, by an opinion of the law officers of the crown that 'the marriages solemnised at the Cape of Good Hope by the person officiating as a clergyman under assumed or forged orders could not be vitiated or invalidated in any manner by the defect of the holy orders of priesthood imputed to him.'

In England Dr. Halloran assumed various names, and by means of spurious documents obtained employment as a

clergyman in several places. His last situation was that of curate of Brosely in Shropshire, where he quarrelled with the rector, Dr. Townsend Forester. Dr. Forester then caused him to be prosecuted for having franked a letter in the name of Sir William Garrow, a member of parliament, and on the 30th of September 1818 he was sentenced at the Old Bailey to seven years' transportation for having defrauded the post-office of tenpence. He was sent to New South Wales, and died there.

On the 8th of July 1810 the island of Bourbon was wrested from the French by an English expedition sent from India. The English officers then resolved to attack the more important island of Mauritius, and as the force at their disposal was insufficient, they requested assistance from the Cape. Lord Caledon sent the 72nd and 87th regiments to aid in the operations. These troops left Table Bay on the 25th of October, and on the 4th of December Mauritius came into possession of the English by capitulation.

On the 4th of December 1809 several distinct shocks of an earthquake were felt in Capetown, and caused considerable damage to many houses. In 1811, on the 2nd and again on the 19th of June, shocks were felt at the same place. On these occasions the walls of some houses were cracked from top to bottom, but no great injury resulted.

At this time a great addition to the comfort of the inhabitants of Capetown was made by order of Lord Caledon. Ever since the seventeenth century water for domestic use was obtained either from wells or from a fountain near the northern end of the parade ground. The well water—except where underground veins were tapped—was regarded as impure, though it was used for many purposes. Into a reservoir above the government garden—the lowest of those now existing—some of the sources of the ancient fresh river were led, and from it the water was conducted partly in a course of masonry and partly in wooden shoots to the fountain on the parade, where the townspeople and the shipping obtained their supplies. There was another fountain at the

lower end of Caledon square, fed from the same reservoir, but it was chiefly intended for the occupants of the castle and the barracks, and when private people were allowed as a favour to make use of it, they were obliged to wait until the military parties had taken as much as they wanted. In most families of respectability in the town, a slave was kept for no other purpose than to carry water from the fountain on the parade, just as another slave was kept to collect and carry fuel from the mountain.

Lord Caledon announced his intention to have iron pipes laid along the principal streets, with taps at convenient distances; but the inhabitants—with a few exceptions—did not regard the scheme favourably. They feared the expense, which was to be provided for by additional taxation, and many of them expressed their apprehension that after a large expenditure had been incurred, the scheme would prove a failure. Some simple people even ridiculed the idea that water could be made to flow in pipes up the sides of the valley. But in those days the governor's fiat overruled all objections, even in municipal matters, and the pipes were brought from England and laid down in the streets. Then to their gratification the inhabitants realised that the new system was less expensive than the old, and had greatly the advantage in convenience and comfort.

The earl of Caledon was well disposed towards the colonists, and in return they thought highly of him. In March and April 1811 he made a tour as far as Plettenberg's Bay, for the purpose of becoming personally acquainted with the interior of the country, that he might be better able to give the secretary of state accurate information. Previous to setting out he had requested permission to resign the government and return to England, as he was about to be married. His resignation was accepted, and on the 4th of July he embarked in the ship of war *Curaçoa* in Simon's Bay and sailed that afternoon. Next morning Lieutenant-General Grey took the oaths of office as acting governor.

As successor to the earl of Caledon, Lieutenant-General Sir John Francis Cradock was appointed. He was a

distinguished military officer, the first of a long series of veterans of the peninsular war who became governors of the Cape Colony. He had been commander-in-chief of the English army in Portugal from December 1808 to April 1809, when he was succeeded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards duke of Wellington. He then became governor and commander-in-chief of Gibraltar. He was a man of very high personal character, of an ancient Welsh family, though his father was archbishop of Dublin. At the time of his appointment to the government of the Cape Colony he was forty-nine years of age. His wife was a daughter of the earl of Clanwilliam. On the 5th of September 1811 Sir John Cradock arrived in Table Bay in the ship of war *Emerald*, and on the following morning took the oaths of office.

Ever since the conquest of the colony in 1806 the district of Uitenhage had been in a disturbed state, and matters there were constantly becoming more unsettled. The Kosas in the Zuurveld observed the conditions of peace no longer than suited their inclinations, and as soon as the white people in their neighbourhood got a few cattle together, robberies were renewed. Some individuals of the missionary party in England expressed an opinion that Europeans must have provoked the Kaffirs, but the closest investigation by officers of the government could not bring to light an instance in which colonists were the aggressors.

The quarrel between Gaika and Ndlambe—the rivals in the house of Rarabe—was kept up with great bitterness on both sides. Kawuta died about the year 1804, and his son Hintsa, whom all acknowledged as head of the tribe, favoured the party of Ndlambe. His object in doing so was to preserve a balance of power. Shortly after the death of Kawuta, Velelo, a half-brother of the deceased chief and one of the guardians of Hintsa during his minority, quarrelled with Gaika and led an army of Galekas to the Keiskama to attack him. Velelo was beaten, and Gaika followed him across the Kei, killed a good many of his people, captured his cattle, and made Hintsa a prisoner. The nominal paramount chief was not kept long in detention, but he was

thenceforth exceedingly jealous of Gaika, and favoured Ndlambe as much as he could. He was not disposed, however, to give assistance in arms, so that the Cape government did not trouble about him.

The constant effort of the British authorities was to induce the whole of the Kosas west of the Kei to acknowledge Gaika as their head. He was the grandson of Rarabe in the great line, and Rarabe had occupied that position. But the clans of the Imidange, Amambala, Amantinde, Amagwali, and Amagunukwebe had only admitted Rarabe as their head on account of his personal prowess, and at his death they became independent of his branch of the tribe, as they had been before his famous exploits. They now claimed the right of remaining separate or of uniting with either of his rival descendants, at their pleasure.

Cungwa, head of the Gunukwebe clan, was next to Ndlambe the most powerful chief west of the Fish river. In 1808 he invaded the Longkloof, and built a kraal west of the Gamtoos river. Lord Caledon was trying every possible means to conciliate the Kosas, for not only was he personally inclined to treat them in the most liberal manner, but his instructions from the secretary of state were to avoid disputes and, above all, hostilities. In his dealings with them he was guided—as he afterwards wrote to his successor—by the advice of the fiscal Van Ryneveld, who laid down the maxim that ‘it was better to submit to a certain extent of injury than risk a great deal for a prospect of advantage by no means certain.’ But if Cungwa were permitted to remain in the Longkloof, the coast lands as far west as Plettenberg’s Bay must be abandoned by white people; and the governor could not make up his mind to that. He therefore gave the clan the choice either to occupy a permanent location near Capetown, where they could be separated from the rest of the tribe, or to return to their own country beyond the Fish river. In October 1809 Cungwa promised to retire to the Kaffir country at once; but instead of doing so, he went into the mountains east of the Sunday river, and then sent his people to plunder far and wide. His sons Pato,

Kobe, and Mama were each at the head of a small division of the clan.

The Inidange were now divided into fragments among the grandsons of Mahuta, whose rightful heir—Jalamba by name—had been killed in the war of 1781. The principal divisions, under Funa and Botumane, were allied with Gaika; the others, under the captains Koba, Kasa, Habana, and Gola, were in the Zuurveld. Kasa and his people had their kraal on the Zuurberg, and were regarded by the Europeans as the most expert robbers in the country.

The Amambala clan was also divided into fragments under the sons of Langa. The principal section, under the captain Eno (correct Kaffir spelling Nqeno), and two small companies, under Kaze and Galeba, were with Gaika; two other sections, under Kame and Tuli, were in the Zuurveld.

The Amantinde clan, under Tshatshu, was in the Zuurveld. Tshatshu's son of highest rank was living at Bethelsdorp with the missionaries.

The Amagwali clan, also in fragments under petty captains of no weight, was in the Zuurveld. The clan under Jalusa, son of Rarabe, was at this time living on the Keiskama in friendship with Gaika. There were also some five and twenty or thirty petty captains, sometimes to be found on the Keiskama, at other times on the Bushman's river, who never rose to any importance, and whose names need not be given.

Lord Caledon, having found conciliation useless, was about to take active measures to suppress the depredations of the Kaffirs in the Zuurveld when he received a despatch permitting him to return to England. General Grey did not feel justified in commencing operations that might end in a war, so he allowed the matter to stand over until the arrival of Sir John Cradock, though he authorised Major Cuyler to assemble a commando and call for military aid from Fort Frederick to prevent the marauders from advancing farther. When the new governor reached South Africa, he found reports awaiting him from the landdrost of Uitenhage, in which he was informed that there was only

one farm still occupied east of the drostdy, and that there was no other choice left than the expulsion of the Kosas by force or the abandonment of the district by the government.

On the 3th of October 1811 orders were issued by Sir John Cradock to the landdrosts of Swellendam, George, Uitenhage, and Graaff-Reinet to call out the burghers of their districts for the purpose of driving the marauders over the Fish river. Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham, of the Cape regiment, was appointed commandant-general of the force. He was instructed to use every exertion to persuade the Kosas to retire peacefully from the colony; but if they would not leave of their own accord he was to take the most effectual measures to repel them within their own boundaries. For this purpose he was to employ the burgher forces and the Cape regiment, using such other troops as would be placed under his command to occupy posts in the rear and prevent their return.

In December the burghers took the field. The farmers of Swellendam were under Commandant Jacobus Linde, those of George under Commandant Jacobus Botha, and those of Uitenhage under Commandant Gabriel Stolz. They assembled near the mouth of the Sunday river. The farmers of Graaff-Reinet, under Landdrost Stockenstrom and Fieldcornet Pieter Pretorius, occupied Brintjes Hoogte, so as to cover the country north of the Zuurberg range.

On the 27th of December a division of Colonel Graham's force, under Major Cuyler, crossed the Sunday river, and formed a camp within easy reach of Habana's kraal on the southern side of the Rietbergen. When passing through a thicket within five hundred yards of the river a few assegais were thrown at the burghers, and one man was wounded. Major Cuyler with an escort then rode to Cungwa's kraal, which was close to a dense thicket, with the object of trying to induce that chief to retire peaceably. Cungwa did not appear, but he sent a message that he was disposed to do as desired, and asked to be allowed until next day to give a final answer. This was acceded to. The men at the kraal

were seen to be in readiness for war, and the veterans were all ornamented with blue crane feathers.

On the following day Major Cuyler with twenty-five farmers and a Hottentot interpreter returned to Cungwa's kraal. Observing a party of Kaffirs close to the thicket, they rode up, when Ndlambe advanced a few paces from the others, and cried out: "Here is no honey; I will eat honey, and to procure it will cross the rivers Sunday, Koega, and Zwartkops." Stamping his foot on the ground, he shouted again: "This country is mine; I won it in war, and shall maintain it." Then shaking an assagai with one hand, with the other he raised a horn to his mouth. Upon blowing it, two or three hundred warriors rushed towards Major Cuyler's party, who owed their escape solely to the fleetness of their horses.

The district east of the Sunday river at a short distance from the coast is very rugged. Between the mountain range called the Zuurberg and the sea are chains of hills and irregular elevations, which were known in 1812 as the Rietbergen. In thickets spread over a tract of this broken land, some forty miles in length by ten or twelve in breadth, the followers of Ndlambe and Cungwa took shelter.

On the 27th of December Colonel Graham sent an express to Landdrost Stockenstrom, directing him to proceed from Bruintjes Hoogte across the Zuurberg and Rietbergen with the farmers and two companies of the Hottentot soldiers, and join Major Cuyler. But the landdrost, who believed that if he carried out these instructions the Kosas would almost to a certainty make a raid into the country north of the mountains, on the 29th with only twenty-four men left the camp, stating that he intended to report himself to Colonel Graham. When about half way to his destination, a party of Kosas was seen approaching on open ground, and against the advice of the farmers Mr. Stockenstrom stopped to talk with them. He wished to induce them to return to their own country without bloodshed, and perhaps he relied for safety upon his reputation as a friend and benefactor of the coloured races. They

were of the Imidange clan under the chief Kasa. Mr. Stockenstrom talked with them about half an hour, the Kosas appearing to be friendly, while all the time they were gradually surrounding the white men. Then there was a rush in from all sides, and the landdrost, eight farmers—Jan Christiaan Greyling, Jacobus Potgieter, Philip Botha, Isaak van Heerden, Jacobus du Plessis, Willem Pretorius, Pieter Botha, and Michiel Hatting—together with the half-breed interpreter Philip Buys, were stabbed to death. Four more farmers were wounded, but they and the others made their escape, killing five or six of their assailants as they did so.

As soon as tidings of the massacre reached the camp at Bruintjes Hoogte, the landdrost's son, Ensign Andries Stockenstrom, of the Cape regiment, set off with eighteen mounted men, and coming suddenly upon a party of the murderers, killed sixteen of them and retook eight horses.

Colonel Graham then sent Captain Fraser to the camp at Bruintjes Hoogte to carry out the instructions which the landdrost Stockenstrom had disregarded. When returning with two companies of the Cape regiment and fifty farmers under Fieldcornet Pretorius, Captain Fraser was attacked three times in a narrow defile, but on each occasion beat off his assailants. About twenty Kosas were killed, without the loss of any Europeans.

Meantime Major Cuyler's division had several skirmishes, in which a few Kosas were shot and four hundred head of horned cattle were captured.

On the 3rd of January 1812 six parties, each consisting of sixty farmers and twenty men of the Cape regiment, entered the broken forest country south of the Addo Heights, for the purpose of expelling the Gunukwebes. They came out on the 7th with two thousand five hundred head of cattle, having killed twelve or fourteen Kosas, among whom was the chief Cungwa. On the side of the Europeans only one man—Fieldcornet Nortje—lost his life. The farmers, finding the government in earnest as to driving the Kosas from the colony, were ready to make

every possible exertion, and Colonel Graham reported that they were "orderly, obedient, and undertook with cheerfulness and alacrity the fatiguing and arduous duties allotted to them." As soon as the first patrols came out, others were sent into the retreat of the Gunukwebes, but the Kaffirs avoided a combat, and tried to double upon their pursuers.

It appeared afterwards as if Cungwa's clan was only keeping the Europeans engaged while Ndlambe made good his escape. On the 14th and 15th of January this chief with his people crossed the Fish river, and they were immediately followed by the Gunukwebes, under Pato, who succeeded to the chieftainship on his father's death.

Habana and a number of the other petty captains remained in the recesses of the mountains. It was believed by the Europeans that David Stuurman, who had escaped from confinement some time before, with a band of Hottentot marauders was aiding Habana; and as those people were expert marksmen, an attack upon them was regarded as certain to result in heavy loss of life. On the 13th of February two divisions of burghers and Hottentot soldiers entered the broken country of the Zuurberg and Rietbergen, one from the north, the other from the south. They met on the bank of the Sunday river, and then, forming a number of small parties, they scoured the country from west to east, while mounted patrols guarded the outlets on their flanks. Contrary to expectation, David Stuurman and his gang were not there. During twelve days of excessive fatigue the kloofs and thickets were cleared of the Kosas, who fled towards their own country. About thirty were killed or wounded. Over one hundred women and children were made prisoners, and six hundred head of cattle were captured. On the 24th of February the burghers returned to camp, having destroyed all the gardens, and left hardly a trace of the Kosas west of the Fish river.

The women and children who had been made prisoners were now restored to their friends. Sufficient corn for seed

was forwarded, and even some of the captured cattle were sent across the Fish river and given back to those from whom they had been taken. It was announced to the Kosas that on their own side of the boundary they would not be molested, but if they returned to the colony they would be shot. Of the captured cattle that were not restored, some were given to farmers who had suffered from depredations by Kaffirs before the war, five hundred head were sent to Gaika to distribute in any manner he chose, and about six hundred head were kept in reserve. The expelled clans were informed that these cattle would be returned to them after a time if they behaved themselves properly, or otherwise would be used to make good losses through thieves.

By the beginning of March the fourth Kaffir war was over, and it had ended—as neither the second nor the third had—favourably for the Europeans. At its close there were in the field eight hundred burghers and twelve hundred and fifty-two soldiers, including the Hottentot regiment. The Kosas driven over the Fish river numbered in all about twenty thousand souls.

A line of military posts, garrisoned partly by soldiers and partly by burghers, was now formed from the sea to the second chain of mountains, for the purpose of preventing the return of the Kosas. All rights to former loan farms in the Zuurveld were declared to have ceased, but it was announced that ground would shortly be given out there on quitrent tenure.

The governor resolved to station two magistrates near the eastern frontier, and for this purpose on the 10th of July 1812 Ensign Andries Stockenstrom, of the Cape regiment, was appointed deputy landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, and Captain George Sackville Fraser, of the same corps, deputy landdrost of Uitenhage. Ensign Stockenstrom was directed to hold a court at Van-Staden's-Dam, on the bank of the Fish river; but a little later he was moved some distance higher up, to a loan farm in occupation of Willem Jacob van Heerden, which on the 21st of January 1814, at the request of the inhabitants of that part of the country,

was named Cradock by a government advertisement. In the following year Van Heerden was awarded compensation for the improvements he had made, the lease was cancelled, and a village was laid out.

The head-quarters of the troops on the frontier were on a farm once occupied by a man named Lucas Meyer. It was close to the source of the Kowie river, on a spur of the Zuurberg, about twenty-five miles from the sea, and nearly two thousand feet above the level of the ocean. Its advantage as a military position was due to its being the centre of an irregular semicircle described by the Fish river from north-west round to south-east, nearly every part of the curve being within a day's march. To this place, on the 14th of August 1812 the name Grahamstown was given by government advertisement, in honour of the officer commanding the troops. The deputy landdrost of Uitenhage was stationed there.

In 1807 and again in 1812 small-pox appeared in the colony. On the 16th of June in the former year a Hottentot in the prison in Capetown was found to be suffering from it. He had recently come round by sea from Algoa Bay, and it was supposed that he had brought the seeds of the disease from the country north of the Orange river, where it was known to be prevalent in a mild form. The sick man and two Hottentots who were his associates in the prison were at once conveyed to Paarden Island, and were kept there in complete isolation. They were all smitten with true small-pox, but all recovered. Owing to the precautions taken, the disease did not spread on this occasion, and no other case was discovered.

On the 5th of March 1812 a slave from a condemned Portuguese ship was found to be suffering from small-pox, though he appeared perfectly well when he landed a short time previously. He was at once isolated, but soon other cases were discovered in houses where he had been, and the disease rapidly spread. The government issued instructions that every one in the town should be inoculated; but the Mohamedans, from a religious scruple, found means to avoid

compliance with the order. Capetown was now shunned by the country people, and communication with the interior almost ceased. The schools and places of worship were closed, general business was suspended, and unnecessary intercourse was forbidden. As soon as the disease appeared in a house, a white flag was hung out, and every one coming from such a house was required to wear a strip of white calico round his arm. The anxiety of the people was very great; but there were only a few hundred cases, and most of those attacked recovered. By September the disease entirely disappeared, and the 11th of October was observed as a day of thanksgiving to God for its cessation.

Under the government of Sir John Cradock, as upright and amiable a man as ever ruled this country, the first of a long course of events took place which ended in the abandonment of their homes by a great number of colonists, and their flight from English dominion as from the most oppressive of tyrannies.

During recent years several governors had contemplated the establishment of a circuit court, but the various changes which had taken place prevented the completion of the design. Lord Caledon was permitted by the secretary of state to carry it into effect. On the 16th of May 1811 he issued a proclamation that a commission of two or more members of the high court of justice should from time to time make a circuit through the colony, for the purpose of trying important cases, ascertaining that the landdrosts performed their duties correctly and impartially, inspecting the district chests and buildings, and reporting upon the condition of the people and all matters affecting public interests.

On the 14th of October 1811 three judges left Capetown on the first circuit. They were Mr. Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld—who on the retirement of Mr. De Wet on account of bodily infirmities in March 1809 was appointed president of the high court, or chief justice as that officer now began to be termed—and Messrs. Pieter Diemel and Francis Willem Fagel. Mr. Daniel Johannes van Ryneveld

was secretary. They proceeded to the various drostdies, and tried in all twenty-one criminal cases, of which eight were charges brought by coloured people against colonists. The proceedings were conducted with open doors, and no distinction was made between persons of different races or colour either as accusers, accused, or witnesses. The judges reached Capetown again on the 1st of February 1812, and shortly afterwards drew up and presented to the governor a long report upon the condition of the country. Throughout South Africa there was nothing but satisfaction expressed with the establishment of a circuit court after this manner, and everywhere the judges were received with the utmost respect.

But before the termination of the first circuit Sir John Cradock received a despatch from the secretary of state, dated 9th of August 1811, in which was enclosed a copy of a letter from the reverend Mr. Read, of Bethelsdorp, to the directors of the London missionary society, and by them published in England. In this letter the missionary complained that the Hottentots were subject to cruel and inhuman treatment from white people, and that the earl of Caledon and Landdrost Cuyler were alike deaf to their cry for justice. He asserted that upwards of one hundred murders had been brought to the knowledge of Dr. Vanderkemp and himself in the district of Uitenhage alone. The secretary of state instructed the governor to have these terrible charges thoroughly investigated, and to see that stringent punishment was inflicted upon perpetrators of outrages.

Accordingly every possible effort was made to put facilities in the way of Hottentots bringing forward their grievances. Landdrost Cuyler considered his honour at stake, and was most anxious that even petty assaults should be looked into, in order that the assertions of the missionary might be proved to be false. This gentleman belonged to one of the best families of Dutch descent in the state of New York. In the revolutionary war his father took part with the king, and in course of time he became an officer in the



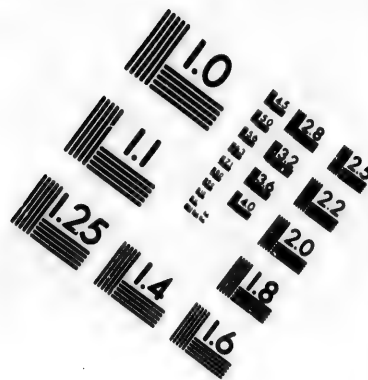
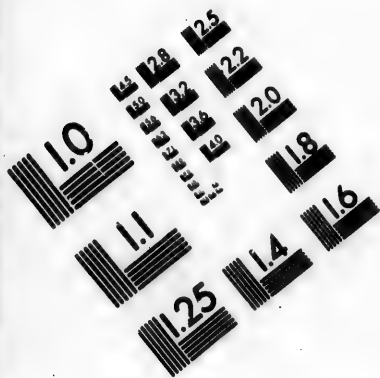
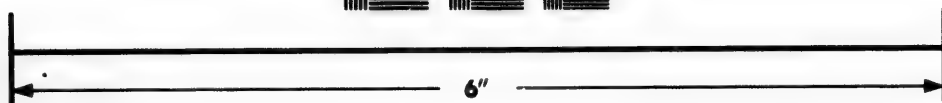
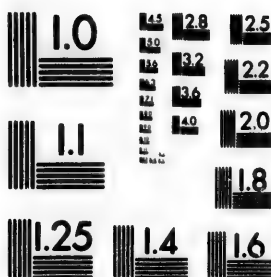


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British army. He was very indignant on being accused of injustice, as he prided himself on his integrity, and knew that the charge against him was undeserved.

Dr. Vanderkemp died in January 1812, but Mr. Read was aided by other members of the society to get as many cases as he could for the next circuit court. He, too, was on his mettle, as it was necessary for him to show that he had grounds for what he had written. All the stories of the years of discord and war between the colonists and the Hottentots were therefore brought forward, and the court was furnished with a fearful roll of charges.

On the 23rd of September 1812 the judges Strubberg and Pieter Laurens Cloete left Capetown on what was afterwards usually termed the black circuit. Mr. Van Ryneveld was to have accompanied them, but he died on the 14th of August. Mr. Jan Andries Truter then became chief justice. Two other judges were sent on circuit to Swellendam and Tulbagh, leaving to Messrs. Strubberg and Cloete only the districts of George, Uitenhage, and Graaff-Reinet.

At that time it was part of the duty of the landdrosts to act as public prosecutors when charges of crime committed within their districts came before a superior court. But in this circuit an advocate was directed to accompany the judges and prosecute in the cases brought forward by the missionaries, leaving the landdrosts to prosecute in all other cases. The advocate who was charged with this duty was Mr. Gerard Beelaerts van Blokland, a man of unblemished integrity, who had been attorney-general under the Batavian government, and was now secretary of the high court of justice. This departure from the usual course of proceedings was made at the urgent request of Landdrost Cuyler, and in order that everything possible should be done to secure a thorough investigation.

More than one-third of the male inhabitants of the frontier districts who were capable of bearing arms were in garrison in the stockaded posts that had been constructed to prevent the return of the Kosas to the Zuurveld. Over fifty members of their families—male and female—were required

to appear before the circuit court, and over a thousand witnesses—European, black, and Hottentot—were summoned to give evidence. The whole country was in a state of commotion.

Fifteen white men and two white women were severally charged with murder, and thirteen white men and two white women were charged with crimes of violence towards Hottentots or slaves. Of the charges of murder, the cases of two men and one woman were referred to the full court in Capetown, those of two men were postponed until next session, one man was found guilty of assault, and one woman and ten men were acquitted. Of the charges of violence, the case of one man was referred to the landdrost, as the complainant did not appear; that of another man had to stand over until the next session, owing to the absence of witnesses; one woman and five men were acquitted, and one woman and six men were found guilty and sentenced to various punishments. There were also nineteen cases against white people for recovery of wages, two cases for illegal detention of children, and five cases for illegal detention of cattle. The most serious of these were decided in favour of the defendants.

It was nearly four months before the black circuit closed its session, and when on the 15th of January 1813 the judges reached Capetown again, the irritation in the eastern districts was still at its height. It was of no use telling the people that the trials had shown the missionaries to have been the dupes of idle storytellers. The extraordinary efforts made to search for cases and to conduct the prosecutions appeared in their eyes as a fixed determination on the part of the English authorities to punish them if by any means a pretext could be found. If it were not so, they asked, why were not charges made by them against Hottentots followed up in the same manner. As for the missionaries of the London society, from that time they were held by the frontier colonists to be slanderers and public enemies, whose statements were not to be regarded as worthy of attention, and whose dealings with the coloured

racess could only be productive of evil. To associate their names with the propagation of Christianity seemed the very height of absurdity. Here and there one or two of the missionaries in after years overcame this prejudice, but the expression London missionary society remained in use as denoting something inimical and worthy of detestation.

At this period, in conformity with the established law of nations, Great Britain professed to abstain from making any important changes in the colony, because on the conclusion of peace the country might be restored to its former owner. And yet the land tenure of the greater portion of the settled territory was altered in 1813.

Sir John Cradock regarded the system of holding land on the tenure of loan places as bad in principle and in practice. Under it, when a man wanted a grazing run, he looked out for a good locality, set up a beacon, and sent a request to the government to be allowed to occupy it. A commission, consisting of two or three heemraden or fieldcornets, was then directed to inspect the locality and report whether a grant would interfere with the rights of anyone else and whether the applicant was a proper person to have a loan place assigned to him. If the report was favourable, a lease was made out, the rent being alike in all instances twenty-four rixdollars a year. The size of the place was half an hour's walk in every direction from the central beacon. The lease was for one year only, but by long custom it was regarded as renewed by the payment of the rent. The occupant could at any time dispose by sale of the buildings and improvements upon such a place—which were termed the opstal,—and the government, which received transfer dues on such sales, continued the lease to the purchaser. It was as simple a system of land tenure as could be devised, and the farmers did not regard their occupation under it as insecure. By the letter of the law, the government could reclaim the ground at any time upon a year's notice, but no instance of this kind had occurred unless the occupant was such a notoriously bad character that the people of his district wished to get rid of him.

In Sir John Cradock's opinion, the faults of the system were many. First, it did not give absolute legal security of possession, and therefore he thought the occupants were discouraged from making improvements. Secondly, all farms, whether good or bad, paid the same rent. Thirdly, the boundaries of the farms were ill-defined, and disputes between neighbours were interminable concerning their limits and the right of grazing over the intermediate ground. Fourthly, loan places could not be divided among heirs. According to the law of the colony, all the children shared equally in the inheritance of a dead parent, consequently when a man died, his farm—if a loan place—was necessarily sold, in order that the proceeds might be distributed. This system prevented the growth of that attachment to the soil which arises from long residence, and tended to scatter the population thinly over a vast area.

On the 6th of August 1813 a proclamation was issued which nominally permitted occupants of loan places to have their tenure converted into that of perpetual quitrent, but which really obliged them to do so by prohibiting alienation of any part of a loan place until it should be surveyed, and claiming for the government the right of resumption or increasing the rent. The size of the new quitrent farms was limited to three thousand morgen, unless specially sanctioned by the governor in each case. The quitrent was to vary with the situation and quality of the land, and could be fixed as high as two hundred and fifty rixdollars a year. Each farm was to be properly surveyed at the expense of the occupant, and a diagram was to be registered in the deeds office. The government reserved the right to mines of precious stones, gold, and silver; also the right to make and repair public roads, and to the use of materials for that purpose.

Sir John Cradock believed that by this alteration of the land tenure, a great benefit was being conferred upon the colonists, for which they ought to be duly grateful. But the farmers did not regard it in the same light. They looked upon the old system as giving all the security and

advantages that they needed. Under it they could not indeed divide their farms among their children, as they were now enabled to do; but while vast tracts of land lay before them waste and unoccupied, they preferred that each child should receive a full sized loan place rather than a portion of a quitrent farm. The increased rent and the costs of survey fairly frightened many of them. Then they were required to make deposits on account of the charges of inspection and survey, and as qualified surveyors were few and the country was large, years elapsed before the work could be completed. Meanwhile they remained in a condition of suspense, until the impression came to be general that the scheme was meant to defraud them rather than to increase their security.

On the 31st of December 1813 the residence of the deputy landdrost of Swellendam was named Caledon by Sir John Cradock, in honour of the late governor. On the 7th of January 1814 the tract of country previously known as the Zuurveld received from the governor the name Albany, and on the 21st of the same month Jan-Dissel's-Vlei, the residence of the deputy landdrost of Tulbagh, was named Clanwilliam by Sir John Cradock, in honour of his father-in-law.

On the 18th of October 1813 the governor left Capetown to make a tour through the colony, and as he visited the most distant parts, he was absent until the 7th of January following. A special object of his inquiry was the conduct of the frontier farmers towards the Kosas who had been driven over the Fish river, as it was asserted by a large party in England that the Europeans in South Africa were guilty of many cruelties towards the adherents of Ndlambe, both before and after the late war. Intercourse between the two races was at this time strictly forbidden, but could not be entirely prevented, as roving bands of Kosas managed to elude the vigilance of the guards at the military posts, and traversed the country either to steal or to beg from the white people. The result of the governor's investigations was published in the *Gazette* upon his return to Capetown:

'His Excellency has had the further satisfaction to approve of the good and unoffending conduct of the inhabitants of the frontier towards the Kaffir tribes, the faithless and unrelenting disturbers of the peace and prosperity of this colony.'

Sir John Cradock took a very warm interest in everything that tended to the improvement of the people of South Africa, white and black. He was not only the patron, but the promoter, of free schools in Capetown for the education of poor European children. A committee of management—termed the bible and school commission—was appointed, consisting of a few of the principal officials and the clergymen of the Dutch reformed, Lutheran, and English episcopal congregations; and a large amount of money was collected by voluntary subscription. The reverend Frederick Hesse, Lutheran minister, was the secretary, and exerted himself greatly in the work. The reverend Robert Jones, English minister, was also a very active member of the committee. Schools for the education of coloured children were established in Capetown, Stellenbosch, and Tulbagh, by missionaries of the London and South African societies, and were aided as much as possible by the governor. The ordinary schools in Capetown and at the various drostdies likewise received attention and encouragement from his Excellency.

An enactment by him regarding slaves tended in the same direction, though at first sight it looks otherwise. The old Dutch laws gave freedom to slaves who professed the Christian religion, but as time went on local regulations were made which greatly checked manumission. By the middle of the eighteenth century the ancient laws were regarded as almost obsolete, and baptized negroes were frequently detained in slavery. To rectify this matter, on the 10th of April 1770 the governor-general and council of India enacted that slaves confirmed in the Christian religion should not thereafter be sold. A regulation made by the council of policy at the Cape on the 3rd of June 1777 required that every one emancipating a slave should pay 10*l*.

to the poor funds of the church, and also give security that the freed person should not become entitled to relief as a pauper within ten years; but the council reserved to itself the right of suspending this regulation in cases where there were weighty reasons for manumission. A local regulation on such a subject, however, could not supersede an enactment of the council of India. This, which was intended to promote Christianity and to raise its professors in the scale of society, really had the contrary effect, as it placed the interest of the owner as an obstacle to the instruction of the slave, or at least to his open admission into the Christian church. For this reason, on the 9th of October 1812 Sir John Cradock issued a proclamation annulling the law of 1770, and leaving to baptized slaves no greater privileges than to others.

The vacancies in the various churches were gradually filled up, as clergymen could be obtained. In Capetown the reverend Messrs. Fleck and Von Manger, and in Stellenbosch the reverend Mr. Borchers, still ministered.

After Mr. Aling's death the congregation at Drakenstein was for nearly seven years without other minister than a consulent. In November 1806 the reverend Mr. Van der Spuy was transferred from Zwartland to Drakenstein, where he died in March 1807. The church was then again without a resident clergyman until June 1810, when the reverend Johan Wilhelm Ludwig Gebhard, who had just arrived from Europe, was stationed there.

The reverend Mr. Ballot remained at Tulbagh until his death in January 1814, after which the congregation was for some time without a clergyman.

In March 1810 the reverend M. C. Vos, who had recently returned from Europe, was stationed temporarily at Zwartland; and in February 1811 the reverend J. Scholtz, who had studied in Europe and come back to his native country, was appointed clergyman of that congregation.

In January 1806 the reverend Mr. Kicherer left the service of the London missionary society, and accepted the appointment of clergyman of Graaff-Reinet. In that

capacity he laboured with equal diligence among white and coloured people, and was deservedly esteemed by all.

The reverend Mr. Schutz remained clergyman of Swellendam for several years. He was of a quarrelsome disposition, and complaints of his conduct were frequently made to government. These were investigated, and Mr. Schutz was repeatedly reproved and warned until at length, in September 1813, the governor suspended him from duty for two years, and ordered him to remove immediately from the district of Swellendam. The congregation was then left for some time without a clergyman.

In February 1811 a new congregation was formed. The estate of Mr. J. Rademan, at the Zwartberg baths, was purchased by government, and the reverend Mr. Vos was stationed there. A church was built, and opened for public service on the 1st of January 1813. It was at this place—now the village of Caledon—that the deputy landdrost of Swellendam was stationed a few weeks later.

In December 1812 the reverend T. Herold, who had just arrived from Europe, was appointed clergyman of a new congregation at the drostdy of George.

There was as yet no clergyman at the drostdy of Uitenhage.

The reverend Mr. Hesse remained Lutheran pastor in Capetown.

In October 1811 the reverend Robert Jones became minister of the English church congregation in Capetown, on the same standing as the ministers of the Dutch reformed church, his salary being paid from the colonial treasury. Services were held by him in the building belonging to the Dutch congregation, there being as yet only three church edifices in Capetown: the Dutch reformed, the Lutheran, and the chapel in Long-street belonging to the South African missionary society, which was opened for use in March 1804.

In 1813 a congregation of the English episcopal church was formed at Simonstown, and in September of that year the reverend George Hough became its first clergyman.

The Moravians had as yet only the mission stations of Genadendal and Mamre.

In 1814 the London society had twenty missionaries in South Africa. Beyond the colony the Bushman station at the Zak river was abandoned, as was also the one at the Kuruman river; but the stations among the halfbreeds and Hottentots near the junction of the Orange and the Vaal remained in existence. An attempt had been made to found a station at Warm Bath in Great Namaqualand, but the missionaries and people were driven from it by the robber captain Afrikaner, and they then settled at Pella, in Little Namaqualand, near the southern bank of the Orange. Attempts had also been made to found stations at the residence of old Cornelis Kok in Little Namaqualand and among the Bushmen on the southern bank of the Orange, but they had been abandoned. Within the colony, in 1812 a missionary was stationed at Zuurbraak, a Hottentot reserve in the district of Swellendam, occupied by the remnant of the Attaqua tribe. In 1818 another missionary went to reside at Hoogekraal, a reserve occupied by the remnant of the Outeniqua tribe. This reserve was on the coast close to the drostdy of George. The first missionary there was the reverend Mr. Pacalt, a man whose good deeds were long had in remembrance in that part of the country, and who was highly esteemed by all classes of the inhabitants. After his death the station was named Pacaltsdorp, and it is still in existence. In 1814 the number of residents at Bethelsdorp was greatly reduced by the formation of a new settlement at a place named Theopolis, between the Kariega and Kowie rivers, the ground for which was allotted to the London society by Sir John Cradock. A strict order was then issued that no one should be allowed to settle at Bethelsdorp without the approval of the landdrost of the district.

A few changes in the civil service remain to be noticed. On the 27th of October 1807 Mr. Andrew Barnard, colonial secretary, died. The deputy secretary, Captain Christopher Bird, performed the duty until the 15th of November 1807,

when Mr. Henry Alexander, cousin of the earl of Caledon, arrived from England and took over the office. On the 1st of July 1812 Mr. Van der Riet, landdrost of Stellenbosch, retired on account of old age, and was succeeded by Mr. Watse Sibius van Andringa. On the 1st of January 1810 Mr. Faure, landdrost of Swellendam, retired for the same reason, and was succeeded by Mr. Petrus Stephanus Buissinne. On the 10th of July 1812 Mr. J. H. Fischer was appointed landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, an office made vacant by the murder of Mr. Stockenstrom. On the 7th of August following he was succeeded as deputy landdrost of Tulbagh by Mr. Olof Marthini Bergh.

While the earl of Caledon and Sir John Cradock were governors half a million rixdollars were expended upon public buildings within the colony, but hardly any of those put up in the country villages remain to the present day. In Capetown there are still the block of offices into which the old slave lodge was converted, and the building now occupied by the public works department, on Buitenkantstreet, facing the southern side of Caledon-square. The last-named structure was completed in 1814, and a portion of it was for many years afterwards used as the town granary.

During this period complete information was obtained concerning the Batlapin tribe of Betschuana and the mixed people since known as Griquas, who had been collected together by missionaries of the London society near the junction of the Vaal and Orange rivers.

Mr. William J. Burchell, an English gentleman of varied accomplishments and an observant turn of mind, travelled among them, and resided for several months at Klaarwater and Lithako in 1811 and 1812. The Griquas, then under the captains Adam Kok and Barend Barends, had already attained as great a degree of civilisation and prosperity as they have since shown themselves capable of. Their principal settlement was at Klaarwater, now known as Griquatown; but there were outstations at the various places where Messrs. Lichtenstein and Van de Graaff found them in 1805. The missionaries Anderson, Kramer,

and Janssen, of the London and Rotterdam societies, were residing with them. The Batlapin were found to have moved from the Kuruman river to a place close by the large kraal where Messrs. Truter and Somerville met them in 1801. The chief Molehabangwe died early in 1812, and was succeeded by his son Mothibi as paramount ruler of the tribe. Two other sons, Molala and Mahura, acted as captains over sections of the people. The principal kraal was called by the same name as the abandoned one close by, Lithako. It contained about five thousand inhabitants.

The reverend John Campbell, who was sent out to inspect the London society's missions, also visited the Batlapin in 1813. It was he who gave the name Griquas to the people of Kok and Barends, and Griquatown to the station at Klaarwater. From this place he travelled along the Orange river to Pella in Little Namaqualand, and thence through Kamiesberg to Capetown.

In 1813 Sir John Cradock applied for permission to return to England, and on the 2nd of November of that year a successor was appointed in the person of Lieutenant-General Lord Charles Henry Somerset. With his family Lord Charles embarked in the ship-of-war *Medway*, which arrived in Table Bay on the 5th of April 1814, and on the following morning he took the oaths of office.

Sir John Cradock sailed for England in the ship-of-war *Semiramis* on the 1st of May. In 1819 he was created Baron Howden, a title which descended to his son, but is now with his family extinct.

When Lord Charles Somerset was appointed governor of the Cape Colony, a great part of Europe was in the throes of revolution, owing to the reverses sustained by Napoleon in Russia. In November 1813 the French party in the Netherlands was obliged to give way, a provisional independent government was formed, and on the first of December the prince of Orange, after an exile in England of nineteen years, landed at Scheveningen and was received by the Dutch people as their sovereign.

In the settlement of Western Europe that was now made,

the whole of the Belgic and Batavian provinces were united into one kingdom, of which the prince of Orange became sovereign. The new monarch was urgently in need of money, and his territories were temporarily exhausted. Under these circumstances, on the 18th of August 1814 a convention was entered into at London, in which Great Britain undertook to pay to the king of Sweden one million pounds sterling in liquidation of a claim against the Netherlands, to advance two million pounds sterling towards improving the defences of the Netherlands, and to bear further charges not exceeding three million pounds sterling towards the final settlement of the whole of the provinces under the dominion of the house of Orange. And in consideration thereof the sovereign of the Netherlands ceded to Great Britain the Cape Colony and the settlements of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice in South America.

It was stipulated, however, that Dutch colonists in the ceded countries should be at liberty to carry on trade with the Netherlands, and that ships of every kind belonging to Holland should have permission to resort freely to the Cape of Good Hope for the purposes of refreshment and repairs, without being liable to other charges than such as British subjects should be required to pay.

The plenipotentiary of the prince of Orange who concluded this arrangement and signed the convention was a brother of Mr. Fagel, the government auctioneer at the Cape.

From this date the claim of the Netherlands to the Cape Colony ceased, and Great Britain acquired a dominion over the country which has never since been challenged by any power.

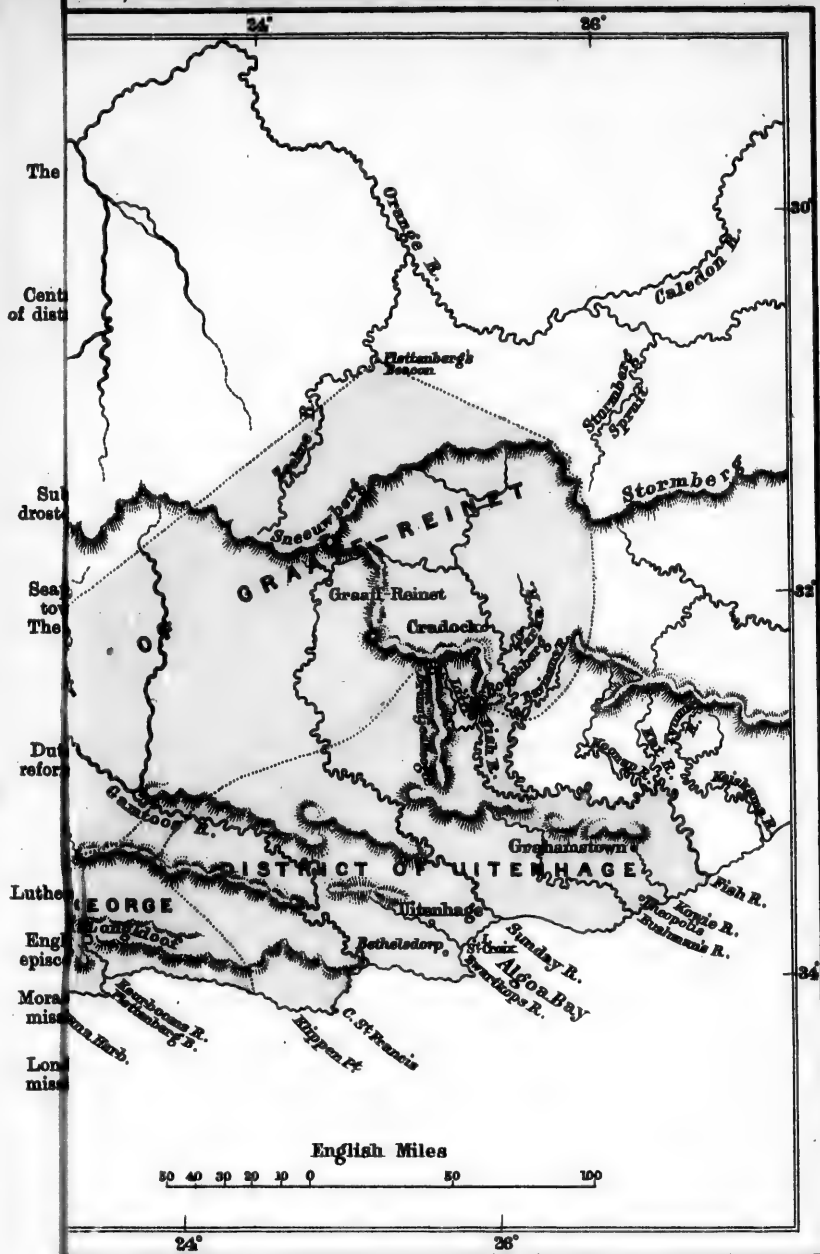
CHAPTER XXXII.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LORD CHARLES HENRY SOMERSET,
GOVERNOR, INSTALLED 6 APRIL 1814; EMBARKED FOR
ENGLAND ON LEAVE OF ABSENCE 13 JANUARY 1820.

Particulars concerning Lord Charles Somerset—Establishment of the Somerset farm—Management of the experimental farm at Groot's Post—Improvement in the breed of horses—Commencement of an ocean mail packet service—Loss of the *Arnisdon* and of the *Amsterdam*—Establishment by the widow Moller of a sustenance fund for old women in indigence and of the South African orphan house—Salaries of the civil servants—Condition of the Hottentot regiment—Insurrection of a party of frontier farmers—Occupation of the islands of Tristan da Cunha as a dependency of the Cape Colony—Depredations by Kosas—Interview of Lord Charles Somerset with Gaika and other Kosa chiefs—Arrangements concerning compensation for thefts and commercial intercourse—Establishment of a mission station on the Kat river—Reprisal for theft upon a Kosa kraal—Reduction of the military force on the frontier—Progress of the feud between Gaika and Ndlambe—Battle of Amalinde—The fifth Kaffir war—Attack upon Grahams-town—Destruction of Ndlambe's power—New boundary of Kaffirland—Construction of Fort Willshire—New system of checking Kaffir depredations—Arrival of a few British immigrants—Creation of the districts of Simonstown and Beaufort—Foundation of the village of Worcester—Opening of a coasting trade with Port Beaufort and the Knysna—Establishment of an asylum for lepers—Ecclesiastical matters—Census returns—Powers of different courts of justice—Departure of Lord Charles Somerset for England on leave of absence—Assumption of duty as acting governor by Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LORD CHARLES HENRY SOMERSET, who on the 6th of April 1814 became governor of the Cape Colony, was a man of ability and energy. The second son of the duke of Beaufort and younger brother of the marquess of Worcester, he was allied by blood or marriage with nearly all the great tory families of the kingdom. His mother was a daughter of Admiral Boscawen. A younger brother—Major-General Lord Edward Somerset—was then serving with the duke of Wellington; another younger brother—Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset—who lost his right arm at Waterloo, was destined many years later, with the

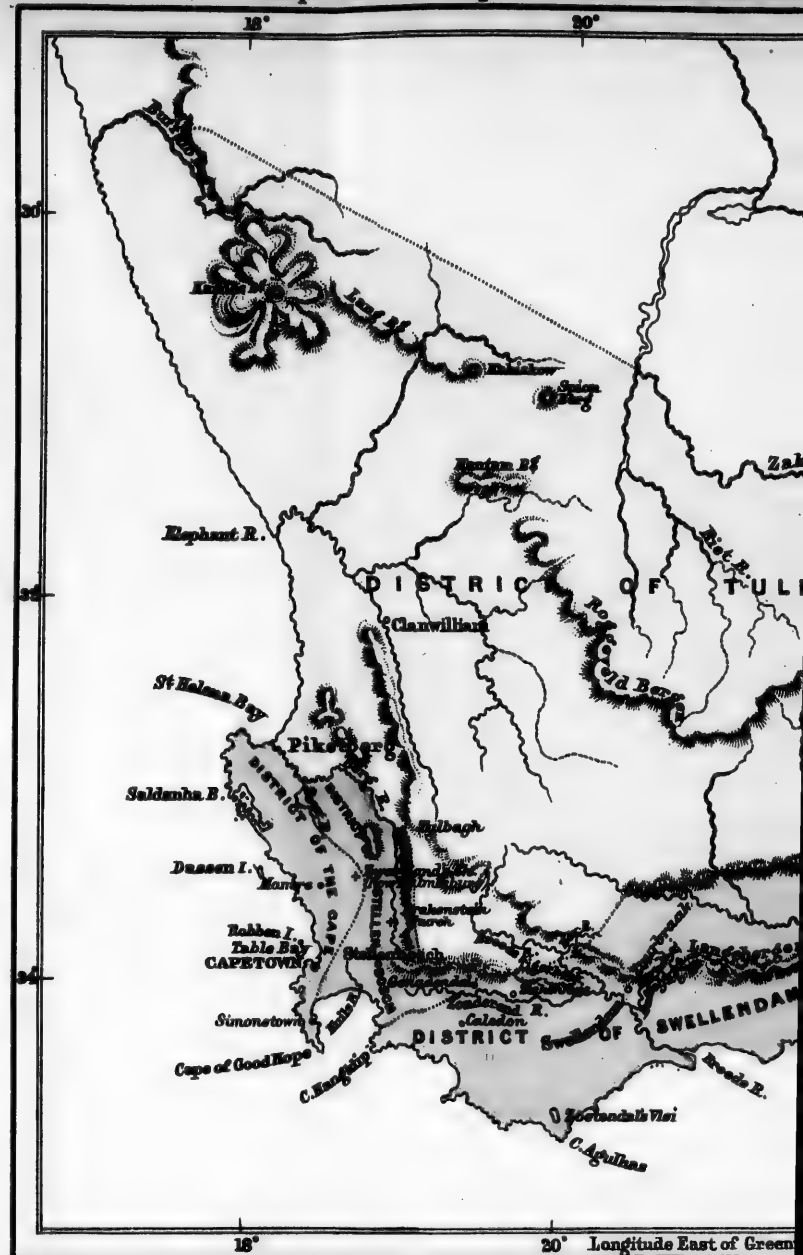
1814, when it was ceded to Great Britain



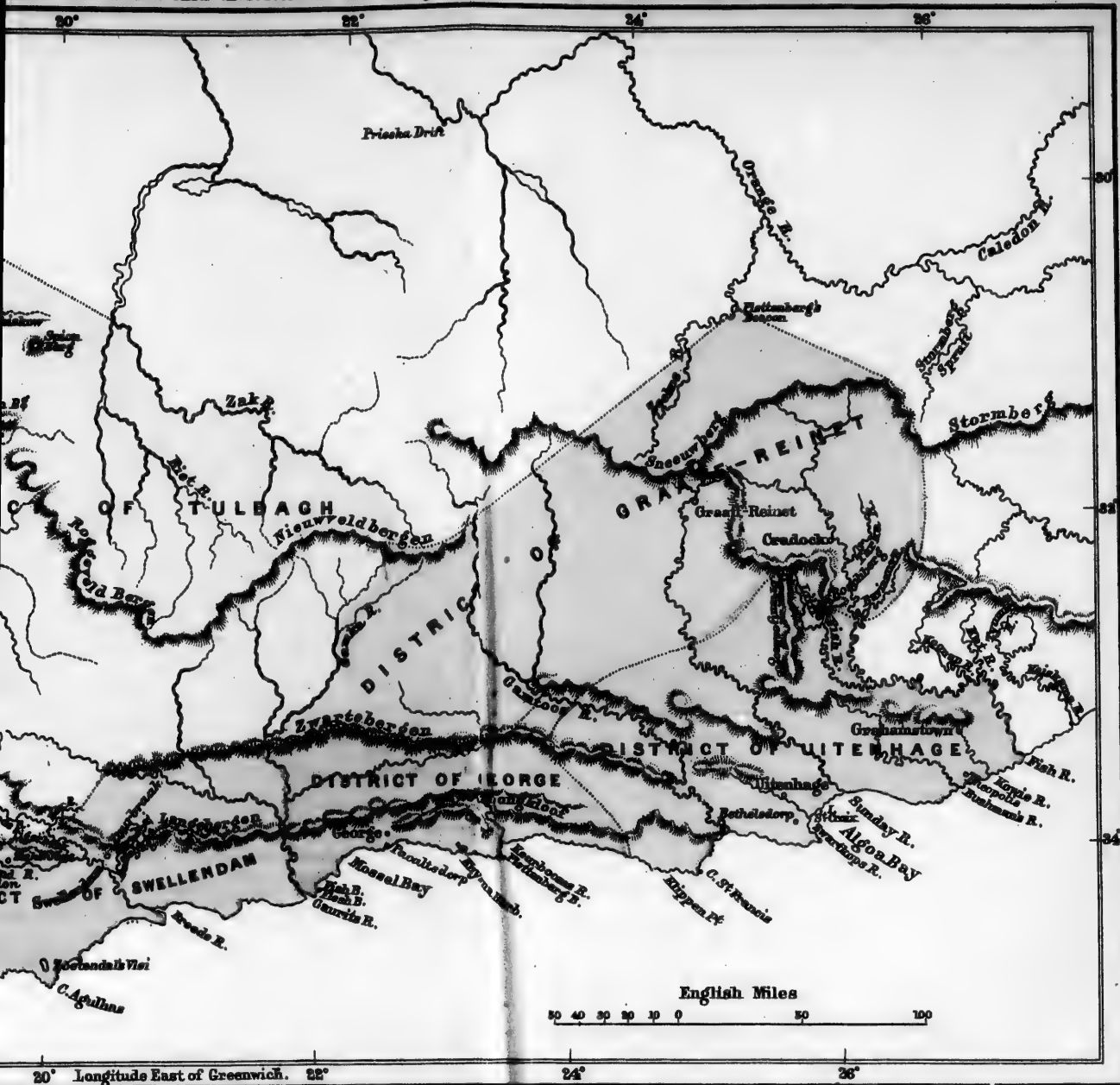
Stanford's Geogr. Atlas? London.

Map IX. This map shows the extent and divi

The places where there were courts of law were	
Centres of districts	Capetown, city founded in April 1652,
	Stellenbosch, village founded in December 1679,
	Swellendam, village founded in October 1746,
	Graaff-Reinet, village founded in October 1786,
	Tulbagh, village founded (as church place) in October 1748,
Sub-districts	Uitenhage, village founded in November 1804,
	George, village founded in April 1811.
	Clanwilliam, court established in February 1808,
Seaport town	Caledon, court established in April 1811,
	Grahamstown, court established in July 1812,
	Craddock, court established in July 1812,
The Churches were at	
Dutch reformed	Capetown, established in August 1665,
	Stellenbosch, established in January 1687,
	Drakenstein, established in June 1691,
	Tulbagh, established in October 1748,
	Zwartland (now Malmesbury) established in July 1745,
	Graaff-Reinet, established in October 1792,
	Swellendam, established in June 1796,
Lutheran	Caledon, established in February 1811,
	George, established in December 1812.
English episcopal	Capetown, established in December 1780.
	Simonstown, established in October 1811,
Moravian mission	Simonstown, established in September 1813.
	Genadendal, established in December 1792,
London mission	Mamre, established in March 1806.
	Bethelsdorp, established in May 1804,
	Zuurbrak, established in 1812,
	Pacaltsdorp, established in 1813,
	Theopolis, established in 1814.



shows the extent and divisions of the colony in 1814, when it was ceded to Great Britain



London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

Stanford's Geogr. Atlas, London.

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title of Lord Raglan, to command the British army in the Crimean war. As a tory ministry was in power in England, and his relatives possessed enormous influence, the governor came to South Africa with very little restraint upon his actions. He was then forty-six years of age. Unable to brook the slightest opposition to his will, relentless in crushing those who tried to thwart him, he was affable to all who conducted themselves to his liking.

The governor was accompanied to South Africa by his lady, two sons, and two daughters. But his family circle was not long complete. Lady Somerset, who was a daughter of Viscount Courtenay, died suddenly on the 11th of September 1815. Her remains were laid in a vault beneath the pavement of the Dutch reformed church, where the ground is so mixed with the ashes of the dead that it is like one great grave.¹

A few months after Lord Charles Somerset's arrival he founded a large agricultural establishment at the other end of the colony, partly for the purpose of supplying the troops on the eastern frontier with meal and oathay, and partly for experiments in the cultivation of tobacco, with a view of increasing the exports. The site selected was the tract of

¹ Her funeral, though in the death notice in the *Gazette* stated to have been conducted with as much privacy as possible, was among the latest—if not the very last—at the Cape attended by *huilebalken*, professional mourners, persons hired to walk at the head of a funeral procession and perform certain ceremonies at the interment. The origin of this custom must be sought in very ancient days. It is supposed to have been brought to this colony from the Indies, not from Europe, after the middle of the eighteenth century; but much uncertainty exists on this point, and I have found nothing in the records to settle it. The *huilebalken* were distinct from the *tropsluities*, who were merely employed to lengthen the procession, and who were paid at the rate of one rixdollar each. There were several reasons for employing *tropsluities*: 1. The nearer the corpse the greater the distinction, consequently relatives and friends wished to see a row of people behind them. 2. A large and imposing funeral procession was regarded as a mark of respect to the deceased. 3. There was a superstition that the last in a funeral procession would be the next to die. The *tropsluities* could quietly exchange places, and, as was said, distribute the risk among a number. The last cause appears a very absurd one, but there are still people living who remember how strongly it operated in bygone times.

land at the Boschberg taken possession of by Willem Prinsloo in the time of Governor Van Plettenberg. It had recently been divided into two loan places, which were then occupied by farmers named Triegard and Bester. The leases were cancelled, and Dr. Mackrill—a skilful botanist¹—was provided with the necessary labourers and appliances, and was directed to carry out the governor's design. Dr. Mackrill named the place the Somerset farm. The experiment of cultivating tobacco came to nothing; but as a means of furnishing provisions for the troops the establishment was a decided success, especially after it came under the superintendence of Mr. Robert Hart, who succeeded Dr. Mackrill in January 1817. Magazines were then built, in which grain purchased from farmers in the district could be stored with that grown upon the place; and here also cattle were purchased and kept to be sent away as required. The establishment thus became a commissariat dépôt as well as an agricultural farm.

Lord Charles Somerset was as desirous as any one could be for the improvement of the colony and the prosperity of its people, only everything tending to improvement and prosperity must emanate from himself. The experimental farm at Groote Post was still under the management of a board of directors consisting of the leading agriculturists of the colony and several of the principal civil servants. It had been usual to request the governor to fill the position of president, and that office had been little more than honorary. Lord Charles politely thanked the members when they asked him to be their president, but they soon learned that he was disposed to be something beyond a mere patron. He went to Groote Post, and issued instructions how the work was to be carried on. Some of the directors attempted to give expression to their opinions, and declined to attend the meetings when they found the governor resolved to

¹ It was he who introduced buchu to the notice of medical men in England. The plant, however, long before his time had been in use in South Africa, nearly every housewife keeping a supply of it among the remedies for ailments.

enforce his own views. Hereupon, in March 1815 his Excellency dissolved the board, and assumed direct control himself.

The governor was fond of the raceground, and had the reputation of being an excellent judge of a horse. He liked to see the choicest animals in his stables, and made it his aim that South Africa should produce strong well-formed horses in sufficient numbers for the requirements of the army in India. The public funds were inadequate to procure as many breeding animals of a high class as he desired to introduce, and he imported many at his own expense. In after years his opponents accused him of trading largely in horses, and even of making grants of land on unduly favourable terms to those who paid him extortionate prices. This charge has been often repeated, but though it is certain that the governor was a gainer by some of these transactions, it is improbable that at the close of his administration he was richer by a single shilling for such dealings on the whole. He imported a number of the best English blood horses at a time when the colony could not afford to do it, and his losses on some were very likely as great as his gains on others. A more exact statement cannot be made, because there is no account of expenses and sales, but only the assertions of his opponents and his partisans to guide one to a conclusion. Mainly through his efforts the breed of horses was so greatly improved that a few years later there was a considerable export to Mauritius and India.

In 1815 a mail packet service was established between England and the Cape. Fast-sailing vessels were employed by the imperial government to leave the Thames monthly, and to convey mails, passengers, and light cargo to the Cape Colony, Mauritius, and India. The postage on letters was fixed at three shillings and sixpence for every quarter of an ounce, and on newspapers at three pence an ounce. People were not to be prevented, however, from sending letters through the post-office from England to the Cape by other conveyances, though the charge was only one shilling and two pence, and from the Cape to England only eight pence

the quarter ounce. The higher rates by the regular service were to be paid for regularity and speed. The first mail packet that sailed from London was the *Eclipse*, Captain Burford, which dropped down the Thames on the 20th of December, and after touching at Madeira and Rio de Janeiro, arrived in Table Bay on the 18th of April 1816. Her passage of one hundred and fourteen days was not encouraging to those who looked for rapid communication between England and South Africa.

It is impossible to give an accurate list of all the shipwrecks on the South African coast during the early years of this century, as the records of such occurrences are incomplete. Occasionally, however, some great disaster took place, of which particulars have been preserved.

This was the case with the *Arniston*, an English transport ship, commanded by Captain George Simpson, which was on her homeward passage from Ceylon when at noon on the 30th of May 1815 breakers were seen through the thick mist to leeward. The wind was blowing towards the land, and a current was setting in the same direction, so that all attempts to get out to sea were fruitless. By four o'clock the position was so perilous that three anchors were dropped; but as two of the cables parted, the captain resolved to run the ship ashore before nightfall, as the only chance of saving the lives of those on board. She struck a long way from the water's edge, about twenty-five miles north-east of Cape Agulhas. There were three hundred and seventy-eight souls on board, including fourteen women and the same number of children. Among her passengers were Major-General the viscount Molesworth and his lady, and there were a good many invalided soldiers returning to England. When darkness set in not a single boat was ready. Before midnight the ship went to pieces, and of all on board only a carpenter and five sailors reached the land alive. On the 5th of June a young man named Daniel Swart, happening by chance to ride to the beach from his father's house a few miles distant, came across the survivors, who had been wandering up and down the coast, living on

shellfish and food that washed ashore. He took them back with him, and made the disaster known to the government, when a party of labourers was sent to search along the beach. No fewer than three hundred and forty bodies were found and buried; and a considerable quantity of arrack in casks, ship's furniture, and other articles that had drifted to land were secured.

Another, though much less disastrous wreck, was that of the Dutch ship-of-war *Amsterdam*. This vessel was dismasted at sea, but her crew managed to get her into Algoa Bay, which port she reached on the 16th of December 1817 in a sinking condition. She had only one small boat left, and in that a lady with her two children and the ship's papers of importance were sent on shore under charge of Lieutenant Aspelung. Every moment it was feared that the vessel would go down. There were still two hundred and twenty men, all told, on board, so Captain Hofmeyer, as the only chance of saving their lives, ran the ship ashore as soon as he could. A little before dusk she struck on the beach about halfway between the mouths of the Zwartkops and Koegea rivers, and two hundred and seventeen men got safely to land. Three were drowned. In the night between the 19th and 20th of December the wreck broke up, but hardly anything drifted on the beach. The officers and men were left with nothing but the scanty clothing they had on, and were in great distress until the landdrost of Uitenhage and some officers from Fort Frederick arrived and made such arrangements for their accommodation as were possible under the circumstances. The plain adjoining the scene of the wreck has ever since been known as the Amsterdam flats.

In the early years of this century there was living in Capetown a lady named Margaretha Anna Heyning, the widow of Hendrik Pieter Moller. To use her own expression in a letter to the governor, she was blessed with worldly goods, and believed it was her duty as a Christian to use those goods for the relief of the poor and afflicted. Among the objects of her benevolence were indigent aged women, for whom she purposed to build an asylum. In

September 1799 a plan was submitted to the governor for approval. She proposed to have a suitable building erected, and to assist in raising a sum of money, the interest of which should be applied in perpetuity to the maintenance in whole or in part of such of the inmates as required aid. The governor cordially approved of the plan, and granted for the purpose a plot of ground at the top of Long-street, upon part of which the orphan asylum now stands.

The conditions drawn up by Mrs. Moller provided that whatever sums should be raised were to be invested by a board of directors on sufficient security, and that during the first five years any interest accruing was to be added to the capital. After that time the interest was to be applied to the subsistence of widows or other women over fifty-five years of age, or such as were sick or infirm under that age if special and urgent circumstances required it, the rule always being observed that the fund was established to aid really helpless and distressed old women, and not to nourish sloth and idleness. Those were to have the preference who were without assistance from parents, children, brothers, or sisters. They were to be of a sober Christian comportment. They were to bind themselves to refund any aid received, in case they should acquire property by donation or inheritance.

As the first board of directors Mrs. Moller named Jan Vlotman, Godlieb Willem Bruckner, Jan Bongard, and Gerhard Ewoud Overbeek. Upon the death or retirement of any of these, the others were to appoint a successor, and so on in perpetuity. An annual meeting was to be held, at which the accounts were to be produced. Any person contributing twenty pounds to the capital fund was to be regarded as a fellow founder with herself, and was to have the right of attending and making suggestions at the yearly meeting. Otherwise the directors were to have entire control of the charity.

The fund was then commenced by Mrs. Moller contributing three hundred and thirty-three pounds towards it. When the five years were expired there was a sum of nearly three thousand five hundred pounds sterling in hand, the

greater portion of which was given by Mrs. Moller herself. In the meantime the plan of building an asylum was abandoned, and in its stead was substituted a monthly distribution of money to aged Christian women in want, without distinction of church or colour.¹

Not long after this charity was projected Mrs. Moller gave to the reverend Michiel Christiaan Vos, of Tulbagh, a sum of twelve hundred pounds sterling for the purpose of building a church in some suitable place in the Roggeveld. But before anything was done in this matter tidings were received of the treaty of Amiens, and Mr. Vos, who was an adherent of the Orange party, resolved to leave the colony. He then returned the money to Mrs. Moller, who set it aside to be invested in some way for the service of God.

For several years the exact form that the new charity should assume was not settled, but in 1808 Mrs. Moller resolved to build an orphan asylum, and endow it with that money. Upon part of the plot of ground granted by the government for the projected asylum for old women, three houses had been put up with the accumulated funds, for the purpose of being leased; the foundation of the building originally planned was standing on another part; and there was a vacant space, which was sold in later years for the benefit of the old women's fund, and realised six hundred pounds. The earl of Caledon, upon being applied to, raised no objection to the part of the ground upon which the foundation was standing being used for an orphanage, and so far favoured the undertaking that in July 1811 he made it a donation of five thousand rixdollars from his private purse. Lord Charles Somerset also approved of the design, and in July 1814 directed the board that administered the estates of persons dying intestate to advance to the directors of the orphan asylum the sum of eight thousand rixdollars on loan without interest, which was practically equivalent to a grant.²

¹ At the present time (1890) about one hundred and twenty old women are in receipt of monthly allowances from this fund.

² See page 255 of this volume.

No haste was made in carrying out the design, however, for though the building was completed in October 1814, it was only on the 26th of September 1815 that the South African orphan house—as the institution is termed—was formally opened. The reverend Mr. Serrurier, then bowed down with years, delivered his last public address on this occasion, and a collection of about one hundred and sixty pounds sterling was made on behalf of the endowment fund.

The management of this institution was vested in a board of six directors, three of whom were to be Lutherans and three members of the Dutch reformed church. Whenever one died or retired the survivors were to appoint a successor. The six named by Mrs. Moller to form the first board of directors were George Willem Hoppe, Simon Stronk, Gabriel Jacobus Vos, Sebastiaan Leibbrandt, Frans de Necker, and Johan Wrensch, with Andries Richert as secretary. After Mrs. Moller's death, however, the two institutions founded by her were united under a board of eight directors, but the funds are still kept separate.

In her will and codicils, the last dated 6th of December 1814, Mrs. Moller bequeathed to the endowment fund of the orphan asylum, in addition to the twelve hundred pounds already mentioned, a teacher's residence and schoolroom in Hout-street, facing Long-street, then leased to the Lutheran congregation, on condition that it should never be used for other than religious purposes, and two slaves, one to be set free after fifteen years' service, the other to be taught a trade and to be emancipated after ten years' service, on payment of four hundred rixdollars. After several bequests to relatives and friends and donations of a hundred rixdollars to each of several charities, the residue of her property was to be divided equally between the orphan house and the South African missionary society.

Altogether Mrs. Moller's contributions to the orphan asylum amounted to about six thousand pounds. The donations of other individuals up to the date of its establishment—exclusive of those already mentioned—were

about one thousand pounds in value. In 1845 a gentleman named Henry Murray bequeathed three thousand three hundred pounds to the institution, so that it has been able to maintain comfortably about thirty-three children at a time, though it seldom has the full number. Several of those reared and educated within its walls have attained positions of eminence in the colony.

In May 1812 a number of ladies who met together at stated times for charitable purposes established a fund for the relief of distressed people of both sexes. In June 1820 they transferred the money they had in hand, amounting to two thousand six hundred and sixty-six rixdollars, to the directors of the orphan house, to be held as a separate trust for the benefit of poor persons. The money was invested, but the calls upon it were so few that by 1884 it amounted to twelve hundred and fifty pounds. It was then transferred to a *dorcas* almshouse which had just been founded by the Dutch reformed church.

The system under which the government of the colony was carried on was still the same as had been introduced in 1796, except that the governor now decided criminal cases in appeal from the high court of justice. The salaries of the civil servants were very unequally apportioned. The following had theirs fixed in sterling money upon their appointment in England: the governor 10,000*l.* a year, his private secretary 500*l.*, the lieutenant-governor 3,500*l.*, the colonial secretary 3,500*l.*, the deputy colonial secretary 1,500*l.*, the auditor-general 1,050*l.*, the colonial paymaster 1,000*l.*, the collector of customs 1,000*l.*, the controller of customs 1,000*l.*, the chief searcher of customs 700*l.*, the collector of customs at Simonstown 700*l.*, the port captain of Table Bay 500*l.*, the English church clergyman of Capetown 500*l.*, and the English church clergyman of Simonstown 350*l.* These officers absorbed more than one-third of the whole amount expended in salaries. They were paid according to the rate of exchange, so that the value of the paper rixdollar made no difference to them.

All the other civil servants had their salaries fixed in

rixdollars, and received the same number of these, no matter whether the exchange was high or low. Thus when the paper rixdollar sank, as in 1815, to be worth no more than 2s. 2½d., these people, who could hardly live comfortably when it was on a par with silver, were in a condition bordering closely on distress. Until 1818 even the chief justice was in receipt of only six thousand rixdollars, and the other judges of only three thousand two hundred and fifty; but in that year Earl Bathurst, then secretary of state for the colonies, directed that the chief justice should be paid 1,000*l.*, and the four senior judges each 500*l.* a year. They all held other appointments in the service, however, and some of them drew salaries for three or four different situations.

The cost of the Hottentot regiment was a charge against the revenue, and its existence was very objectionable to the colonists. Just before Sir John Cradock left South Africa, he raised this corps from five hundred to eight hundred men, his object being to relieve the burghers who were garrisoning the posts on the frontier. Instead of that, however, some regular troops were withdrawn, and the burghers were obliged to remain on duty until April 1815, when Lord Charles Somerset, in order to allow them to return to their homes, sent up every soldier that could be spared from guarding Capetown. The governor had no more liking for the Hottentot regiment than the colonists had, and he urged the secretary of state to disband it and substitute a battalion of regulars.¹

¹ Of the regiment, as it then existed, he wrote: 'It is not only the men who are withdrawn from the service of the farmers, but a large number of women also, almost every Hottentot having at least one wife, many two, and others more. These persons are all maintained—with their children—by the colonial government, thereby making the corps more expensive than any other in the service; and those females with their children remain at the headquarters of the regiment in a state of idleness, filth, and debauchery not to be paralleled. It would perhaps have been impracticable to have kept the regiment together unless this indulgence had been shown, for as the men were chiefly raised by requisition and reluctantly embraced the military life, unless their habits had been given into and their families provided for, no severity would have been sufficient to have checked desertion to the greatest extent, and the deserters would then have become throughout the colony marauders of the worst description.'

The imperial authorities consented, but it was not then convenient to send another body of troops to take its place. In 1817, however, the Royal African corps was ordered to the Cape for duty, and a mixed cavalry and infantry corps was raised, consisting of six commissioned officers and two hundred and forty-seven picked halfbreeds and Hottentots, enlisted on the same principle as European soldiers. In September of this year the old Hottentot regiment was disbanded.

In 1815 the bitter feeling caused by the prosecutions during the black circuit had not died out, and the discontent created by increased taxation was general, while an opinion was held by many persons on the frontier that the Hottentot regiment was stationed there more with the object of ruling them with a strong hand than to prevent an inroad of the Kosas.

Matters were in this state when a charge of ill treatment of a coloured servant was made to the deputy landdrost of Graaff-Reinet against a man named Frederik Bezuidenhout, who resided in the valley of the Baviaans' river—now Glen Lynden,—on a farm adjoining that occupied a few years later by the poet Pringle. As Bezuidenhout refused to appear before the deputy landdrost, a complaint was made to the judges on circuit at Graaff-Reinet, one of whom was the former landdrost Bresler; but their summons was also disregarded. Lieutenant Andries Stockenstrom¹ was at that time landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, having succeeded Mr. Fischer in the preceding month of May, when the last named was transferred to Tulbagh. At the same time Mr. Jan Frederik van de Graaff succeeded Lieutenant Stockenstrom at Cradock. The judges instructed the landdrost to cause Bezuidenhout to be apprehended, and Lieutenant Stockenstrom directed the messenger of the court to apply to the fieldcornet of Baviaans' River ward for assistance,

¹ Military officers filling civil appointments received promotion in rank just as if they remained attached to the army. Besides Landdrost Stockenstrom, there were several other instances of the kind at this period, among them the deputy colonial secretary and the landdrost of Uitenhage.

and also gave him a letter to Lieutenant Rousseau, commanding the nearest military post, requesting that officer to furnish aid if required.

The messenger of the court proceeded to the residence of the fieldcornet, Philip Opperman by name, who declined to render any service, as he said he was aware Bezuidenhout was prepared to resist; and he advised that the letter to the military officer should be delivered. Lieutenant Rousseau, on receipt of the letter, furnished a party of Hottentot soldiers, who accompanied the messenger to Bezuidenhout's farm. As they approached the dwelling, Bezuidenhout fired at them, and then with two servants retired to a cave in a great rock overhanging the river, where he had previously stored a quantity of ammunition.

The mouth of this cave could only be approached by one man at a time, but from the top of the rock the inmates could be heard and spoken to. Bezuidenhout was repeatedly summoned to surrender, but persistently refused, and declared that he would never be seized alive. He was in the act of taking aim at a Hottentot soldier, when he exposed the upper part of his body, and was shot dead by one of the party who had come to arrest him. His two companions thereupon gave themselves up, and were afterwards tried for resisting the officer of the court in the execution of his duty, but were acquitted on the ground that they were not free agents.

On the following day the relatives and friends of the dead man assembled at the funeral, when Jan Bezuidenhout, a brother of the deceased, at the grave side declared that he would never rest until the Hottentot corps was driven from the frontier and those who had brought the calamity upon his family were punished. The landdrost Stockenström, the fieldcornet Opperman, and Lieutenant Rousseau were named as specially deserving of vengeance. The others present expressed the warmest sympathy with Bezuidenhout, and before the party dispersed an insurrection was planned. A little later a meeting took place on another farm, when it was resolved that a deputation should proceed to Gaika's

kraal and endeavour to get assistance from him. Cornelis Faber, whose sister was Jan Bezuidenhout's wife, with three or four others immediately left on this mission.

Shortly after they had gone, their object in visiting Gaika was made known to Fieldcornet Opperman by one who was present at their discussions. The fieldcornet at once proceeded to Graaff-Reinet to inform Landdrost Stockenstrom, but on the way came to learn that he, the landdrost, and Lieutenant Rousseau were held by the relatives of Bezuidenhout to be responsible for what had occurred. In consequence, Opperman did not venture to return from Graaff-Reinet, but addressed a letter to one of his friends, named Willem Krugel, requesting him to act as fieldcornet.

On the 9th of November 1815 the principal conspirators met at the house of Diederik Mulder. Besides Jan Bezuidenhout and Cornelis Faber, there were at the gathering Hendrik Prinsloo, son of old Marthinus Prinsloo the former leader of the nationals, Theunis de Klerk, who was married to Prinsloo's sister, Stephanus Botma, a man once convicted of forgery, and Andries Meyer, a turbulent frontiersman. There a letter was drawn up, and addressed to an elderly farmer of influence named Jacobus Kruger, in which he was informed of their plans and invited to join them. The letter was written by Botma from the dictation of Bezuidenhout, and was signed by Prinsloo. It was given to Jan Mulder to take to Kruger. By the advice of his brother, at whose house the meeting was held, though he did not take part in it, Mulder, instead of proceeding to Kruger's, rode to the farm of Stephanus van Wyk, fieldcornet of the Tarka, and gave the document to him. Van Wyk hastened with it to the deputy landdrost at Cradock, who forwarded copies to Major Fraser at Grahamstown, and to Captain Andrews, commander of a military post on the Fish river. The original letter was sent to Landdrost Stockenstrom at Graaff-Reinet. Mr. Van de Graaff also directed an order to Fieldcornet Opperman, of the Baviaans' river, to call out a commando to assist in preventing an inroad of the Kaffirs; and this order, on account of

Opperman's remaining at Graaff-Reinet, came into the hands of Willem Krugel.

The authorities, being thus made acquainted with full particulars of the design, took prompt measures to frustrate it. A patrol was sent out by Captain Andrews, and Hendrik Prinsloo was surprised, arrested, and conveyed a prisoner to the post, which was on the farm of Willem van Aardt, while his associates were still unsuspecting of danger. The intelligence of his arrest, however, instead of spreading dismay among them, caused them to push on their plans with greater vigour than before. Gaika had declined to assist them when first requested to do so, but Faber now returned to the kraal of that chief and offered the whole of the Zuurveld in exchange for the valley of the Kat river and aid against the Hottentot soldiers. Gaika was too wary, however, to consent to the proposal, and replied that he must see how the wind blew before he placed himself by a fire.

Notwithstanding the failure of the negotiations with the Kaffir chief, on the 12th of November Abraham Botma, by order of Jan Bezuidenhout, sent an intimation from house to house in the Tarka, announcing that Gaika had promised help, inviting the burghers to join the enterprise, and threatening those who should decline with being left unprotected to the mercy of the Kaffirs. On this occasion Theunis de Klerk was particularly busy.

Meantime Willem Krugel, acting for Fieldcornet Opperman, in accordance with the order of the deputy landdrost Van de Graaff, called a number of farmers together at the homestead of Daniel Erasmus, for the purpose of resisting a Kaffir invasion. When they assembled, to a man they declared themselves on the side of the government, but on the following evening Theunis de Klerk, Jan Bezuidenhout, and Nicholas Prinsloo appeared among them, and persuaded them to assist in obtaining the release of Hendrik Prinsloo from the custody of Hottentot soldiers.

On the 14th of November Krugel's commando with the original conspirators—in all numbering about fifty men—

marched under Jan Bezuidenhout's command to Captain Andrews' post, and when close to it sent a Hottentot to ask that Hendrik Prinsloo be surrendered to them. But at daybreak that morning the post had been reinforced by a party of burghers under Commandant Willem Nel, and Major Fraser had arrived and assumed command. He sent the Hottentot back to say that he wished a burgher to come and speak to him, his object being to endeavour to induce the infatuated men to proceed no further in their mad enterprise. Nicholas Prinsloo therefore went to the post, but instead of discussing matters calmly, in threatening language he demanded the release of his brother. This Major Fraser refused.

Bezuidenhout evidently thought that Commandant Nel might be induced to change sides, for he sent to solicit an interview. The commandant accordingly visited the insurgents, when Bezuidenhout desired him to call out the whole of the burghers of Uitenhage, and be guided by their opinion; but Nel declined, and did his utmost to persuade the misguided men to abandon their project. His efforts, however, were useless, and it was with difficulty that he got away, for some of the party wished to detain him by force.

When Nel left, Jan Bezuidenhout formed the insurgents into a ring, and required Willem Krugel, in the name of his commando, to take an oath of fidelity to their cause. The oath was taken, some of Krugel's men raising their hats at the time, and others repeating the word yes, but some doing neither. A letter was then forwarded to Major Fraser, directing him not to send Prinsloo away from the post, and informing him that they would return within four days. After this the insurgents retired, and some of them proceeded to different parts of the frontier to try to obtain assistance.

On the 17th of November the band marched to Slachter's Nek, near the junction of the Baviaans' and Fish rivers, which had been agreed upon as the place where the different persons who had gone for aid should bring any recruits they could engage.

During the preceding night Lieutenant-Colonel Cuyler, landdrost of Uitenhage and military commandant of the frontier, had reached Captain Andrews' post, and he now opened communication with the infatuated men, with the object of inducing them to surrender. Commandant Nel again went to them and urged them to desist from their mad proceeding, but in vain. The heemraad Barend de Klerk, a man of exemplary character, went to his brother Theunis de Klerk, and conjured him by their mother, who was then on her deathbed, to abandon the insurgent cause, but to no effect.

On the 18th of November Colonel Cuyler marched to Slachter's Nek with thirty burghers under Commandant Nel and forty dragoons under Major Fraser. When within rifle shot of the insurgent band, the force was halted, and communications were again opened, with a view of preventing bloodshed, but with the same result as before. Preparations for an advance upon the position were then made, but just at that moment several men were seen riding up from the opposite direction and joining Bezuidenhout's party. They were Faber and his associates, from Gaika's kraal, Abraham Botma, from Zwagershoek, and Andries Klopper, from Bruintjes Hoogte, all bringing intelligence of absolute failure. Five of Krugel's men had already abandoned the cause, and secretly returned to their homes. The others for the first time realised the utter hopelessness of resistance. Krugel, exclaiming 'in God's name let me go down and receive my punishment,' strode towards Nel's commando. He was followed by seventeen others—Nicholas and Jan Prinsloo, sons of old Marthinus and brothers of the prisoner at Captain Andrews' post, Willem Prinsloo, son of Nicholas, Joachim, Willem, and Nicholas Prinsloo, nephews of old Marthinus, Hendrik and Jacobus Klopper, Philip, Christoffel, and Jan Botha, Hendrik and Cornelis van der Nest, Pieter Erasmus, Jan Bronkhorst, Thomas Dreyer, and Adriaan Nel. These all laid down their arms, and were made prisoners, except the second Willem Prinsloo, who was allowed to go free. The

others fled in various directions, but fifteen surrendered shortly afterwards, among them Theunis de Klerk.

The most desperate, headed by Jan Bezuidenhout, fled towards Kaffirland. For some days the direction of their flight was not known, but at length it was discovered, and they were then pursued by Commandant Nel with twenty-two burghers and Major Fraser with one hundred Hottentots of the Cape corps. On the 29th of November at the Winterberg Abraham Botma was surprised and arrested, and Andries Meyer gave himself up. The others were a little farther in advance. A party of Hottentots under Lieutenant McInnes made a circuit, and posted themselves some distance ahead. Four waggons, containing the families of Jan Bezuidenhout, Cornelis Faber, Stephanus Botma, and Abraham Botma, approached the place where the soldiers were concealed, and outspanned almost within musket shot. As soon as the oxen were loose, Faber, on horseback and armed, and Stephanus Botma, unarmed and on foot, went to a stream close by to get water. Just as they reached it, a band of Hottentot soldiers under Ensign McKay rose up from an ambush only thirty paces distant. Faber turned his horse and set off at full speed, but as the soldiers fired at him, he returned their shot until he was wounded and disabled, when he was seized. Botma was run down and captured.

The soldiers now approached the waggons, and called to Jan Bezuidenhout to surrender. He was an illiterate frontier farmer, whose usual residence was a wattle and daub structure hardly deserving the name of a house, and who knew nothing of refinement after the English town pattern. His code of honour, too, was in some respects different from that of modern Englishmen, but it contained at least one principle common to the noblest minds in all sections of the race to which he belonged: to die rather than do that which is degrading. And for him it would have been unutterably degrading to have surrendered to the pandours. Instead of doing so he fired at them.

His wife, Martha Faber, a true South African country

woman, in this extremity showed that the Batavian blood had not degenerated by change of clime. She stepped to the side of her husband, saying 'let us die together,' and as he discharged one gun loaded another for his use. What more could even Kenau Hasselaer have done?

His son too, a boy only fourteen years of age, took an active part in the skirmish. One Hottentot was killed. Then Bezuidenhout received two severe wounds, from which he died in a few hours, and both his wife and his son were disabled and seized. Ten guns and about forty pounds of powder were found in the waggons.

The prisoners—thirty-nine in number—were sent to Uitenhage for trial. On the 16th of December they were brought before a special commission of the high court of justice, consisting of the judges W. Hiddingh and P. Diemel. Mr. Beelaerts van Blokland was secretary of the court, and Landdrost Cuyler was prosecutor. The prisoners admitted the facts as here related, and the evidence taken was conclusive. On the 22nd of January 1816 judgment was delivered.

All, except Martha Faber, widow of Jan Bezuidenhout, were to be conveyed to the place on Van Aardt's farm where Willem Krugel had taken the oath in the name of the men under his command, and there Hendrik Prinsloo, Cornelis Faber, Stephanus Botma, Abraham Botma, Theunis de Klerk, and Willem Krugel were to suffer death by hanging. The remaining thirty-two, after witnessing the execution, were to undergo various punishments, ranging from banishment for life to imprisonment for one month or a fine of fifty rixdollars.

The sentences were in accordance with the letter of the law; but it was generally supposed that the governor would use his power of mitigation to prevent the penalty of death being inflicted, as no blood had actually been shed by any of the prisoners. Banishment would have been equally effective as a warning to others, and it seemed to most people then as now that something was due to the burghers who aided the government, and who were afterwards

horrified at the thought that they had helped to pursue their deluded countrymen to death. There was an opportunity for the English government to secure the affections of these people, by granting to them the lives—though not the liberty—of the chief culprits; but Lord Charles Somerset did not avail himself of it. On the intercession of Landdrost Cuyler, who represented the services that Krugel had rendered in the last Kaffir war and his uniform good conduct before he permitted himself to be led astray by the leaders of the insurrection, that individual was spared, but the governor's fiat was affixed to the sentences of the other five.

On the 9th of March 1816 they were executed at Captain Andrews' post on Van Aardt's farm. The reverend Mr. Herold, of George, attended them in their last moments. Before ascending the scaffold, they requested to be allowed to sing a hymn with their late companions and friends, and, upon permission being granted, their voices were clear and firm. After this, Stephanus Botma—whose ancestor of the same name was the first burgher in South Africa—addressed those present, advising them to be cautious in their behaviour, and take warning from his fate. To outward appearance, they were all perfectly resigned to die. When the drop fell, four of the ropes snapped, and the condemned men rose from the ground unharmed. The great crowd of people standing round, regarding this as an intervention of God, raised a cry for mercy, which Landdrost Cuyler, who was in command, was powerless to grant. Three hundred soldiers guarded the scaffold, and prevented confusion until all was over.

Among the convicted men was a deserter from the Batavian army, who went by the name of Frans Marais. He was sentenced to be fastened to the gallows with a rope round his neck during the execution of the others, and then to be banished from the colony for life. The governor declined to mitigate this sentence, and it was carried out.

The remaining prisoners were admitted to mercy. Seven of them—Willem Krugel, Adriaan Engelbrecht, Andries

Meyer, Nicholas Prinsloo son of Marthinus, David Malan, Pieter Prinsloo son of Nicholas, and Martha Faber—were banished for life from the districts of Graaff-Reinet, Uitenhage, and George. Five—Andries van Dyk, Christoffel and Abraham Botha, Pieter Delport, and Theunis Mulder—had the choice of being imprisoned for four months or paying a fine of two hundred rixdollars. One—Hendrik Liebenberg—had the choice of being imprisoned for two months or paying a fine of one hundred rixdollars. Four—Adriaan and Leendert Labuschagne, Barend de Lange, and Gerrit Bezuidenhout—had the choice of being imprisoned for one month or paying a fine of fifty rixdollars. Sixteen—Andries, Hendrik, and Jacobus Klopper, Hendrik and Cornelis van der Nest, Philip and Jan Botha, Willem Prinsloo son of Nicholas, Jan Prinsloo son of Marthinus, Joachim and Nicholas Prinsloo nephews of Marthinus, Jan Bronkhorst, Thomas Dreyer, Pieter Erasmus, Adriaan Nel, and Frans van Dyk—were released without other punishment than witnessing the execution of those who were hanged.

Old Marthinus Prinsloo, who had taken a leading part in the "national" movement sixteen years earlier, was still living. Though his sons, nephews, and grandsons were active in the disturbance, he was not implicated in it. Nevertheless the governor directed that the lease of his farm Naude's River, adjoining the Somerset estate at the Boschberg, should be cancelled, and that he should remove to either of the districts Swellendam or Tulbagh. He was paid three thousand rixdollars for the buildings, and as the farm was well supplied with water, it was added to the ground under Dr. Mackrill's charge.

Those who were banished from the eastern frontier removed with their families to the tract of land named the Gough, under the Nieuwveld mountains, where they were soon joined by many of their relatives and old associates.

During the war of 1812-1814 between Great Britain and the United States of America, privateers cruising against British commerce off the Cape of Good Hope were in the habit of refitting at Tristan da Cunha, though this was not

suspected until the conclusion of peace. To prevent the islands being used as a base of operations for the rescue of Napoleon from St. Helena, in September 1815 the secretary of state directed Lord Charles Somerset to place a garrison upon the principal one, which he stated had always been regarded as a dependency of the Cape government. This supposition was incorrect. In 1696 a little vessel named the *Geelvink* was sent from Holland to examine the islands, and she brought to the Cape a report that they were three in number, difficult of access and barren in appearance, though grass, trees, other vegetable productions, and vast numbers of seabirds so tame that they could be captured by hand, were found upon them. They were out of the track of commerce, however, and therefore were not occupied by the Dutch.

In December 1810 an American named Lambert with two associates settled on the principal island, which was occasionally visited by whaling ships. In May 1812 Lambert and one of his companions were drowned when out fishing; but the other, Thomas Currie, a native of Leghorn though his father was an Irishman, was shortly afterwards joined by two men named John Tankard and John Talien. In 1815 it was reported at the Cape that these persons were in possession of abundance of vegetables, grain, and pigs, and expressed discontent only because they were without female companions.

Before the instructions of the secretary of state reached Lord Charles Somerset, the authorities at St. Helena sent a party of seamen to hoist the British flag and occupy the island. This party found no one there except Thomas Currie, and what became of Tankard and Talien cannot be ascertained from any documents in the Cape records.

In October 1816 Captain Josias Cloete, previously of the 21st light dragoons, with a company of infantry left the Cape for Tristan da Cunha. He took with him such articles as would be needed to form an establishment, and a stock of horses, horned cattle, and sheep, intended for breeding purposes. After a very stormy passage, during which he lost

all his live stock, on the 28th of November Captain Cloete reached his destination. But shortly after this, owing to representations made by the naval authorities in England, the imperial government resolved to abandon the islands, and the ship-of-war *Conqueror* was sent to convey the garrison back to the Cape. In June 1817 she arrived in Simon's Bay with Captain Cloete and some of the soldiers, but as she had not accommodation for all, a party was left behind. Lord Charles Somerset then took the responsibility of delaying the completion of the abandonment until further instructions, and in the course of a few months he received authority from the secretary of state to keep a party of occupation there, the cost to be borne by the revenue of the Cape Colony. The islands remained thus a dependency of this country until the death of Napoleon, when the garrison was withdrawn.

Although there was a line of military posts along the border, bands of Kosas managed to make their way into the colony and plunder the farmers. To such an extent was this carried on that Sir John Cradock, when on the frontier in November 1813, felt himself compelled to send an armed force into Kaffirland to punish the marauders. Lieutenant-Colonel Vicars, who was then in command of the troops on the border, received the governor's instructions to 'try to do something that would prove to the savages and unceasing robbers that his Majesty's government would no longer be trifled with or suffer the property of the colonists to be destroyed.' An armed force was therefore to cross the Fish river, and demand restitution of the stolen cattle. If the demand was not complied with, the kraals were to be destroyed, but not an article was to be removed, and the old, infirm, women, and children were not to be molested. The Kosas were to be given plainly to understand that the object was not plunder, but punishment; that the government was determined to maintain the boundary; that white men would not be allowed to cross the Fish river without leave, nor would Kaffirs be permitted to enter colonial territory without regular authority from some acknowledged chief;

and that any Kaffir found straggling in the colony would be punished with death.

A commando of five hundred farmers was assembled, and at the close of the year everything was ready to carry out the governor's orders. But Colonel Vicars fell ill, and was obliged to remain at Captain Andrews' post; and though the commando, under Captain Fraser, entered Kaffirland and remained there a few hours, it did little more than make a demonstration and then retire.

Sir John Cradock next tried to induce a tolerably dense population to settle in the Zuurveld. On the 28th of January 1814 he issued a proclamation offering to suitable persons farms there on moderate quitrent, the first fifty applicants to pay nothing for ten years. One hundred and five families accepted the offer, but they soon found that it was impossible to carry on agricultural or pastoral operations with any chance of success. A return made for the government early in 1817 shows that ninety of these families had been compelled to abandon the district, and that within eighteen months three thousand six hundred head of cattle had been stolen.

Lord Charles Somerset then resolved to visit the frontier, and endeavour to put matters on a better footing. He sent an invitation to all the border captains to meet him and try to come to a friendly arrangement, assuring them that his sole aim was to preserve peace. On the 29th of March 1817 he was at the Somerset farm, and from that place he issued instructions to the landdrost, deputy landdrost, and heemraden of Uitenhage, requiring them to use every endeavour to induce the former occupants of land in the Zuurveld to return, and offering grants to others on tenure of personal residence and a very low quitrent after an occupation of ten years. With a strong guard the governor then entered the Kaffir country, and on the 2nd of April at the Kat river, about a mile above the site of the present village of Fort Beaufort, had an interview with the principal chiefs of the Kosa clans west of the Kei.

It was with difficulty that Gaika could be induced to

appear at the appointed place, but he was at length persuaded by Major Fraser and the landdrosts Cuyler and Stockenstrom, with whom he was acquainted. He was attended by an armed guard of three hundred men. His son Makoma (correct Kaffir spelling Maqoma) was with him, and a good many petty captains and councillors of his clan were in his train. His rival Ndlambe was present, as also the captains Botumane, Eno, Jalusa, and several others.

Gaika stated that he had always endeavoured to prevent the depredations that were carried on, and had succeeded with his own retainers, but he had no power over the other clans, as they would not submit to his authority.

The governor replied that he would not acknowledge or treat with any of the other chiefs.

Gaika then promised to do his utmost to suppress the cattle thefts, and engaged to punish detected thieves with death.

A formal agreement was made that persons from whom cattle were stolen should be at liberty to follow the spoor into Kaffirland, and upon tracing it to a kraal, the people of that kraal should make good the damage. This is the ordinary Kaffir law, which makes a community responsible for the acts of the individuals composing it, and cannot be considered unjust when applied to people in their condition.

It was further agreed that twice a year a party of Kosas might proceed to Grahamstown to trade with such articles as their country produced. They were to enter the colony by De Bruin's drift, where there was a military post; and were there to be provided with an escort. They were not to leave the main road, and could only remain two days in Grahamstown. A badge was given by the governor to Gaika, which the trading parties would be obliged to show to the officer commanding the post, and none would be allowed to pass without it.

At the conference Ndlambe made no open opposition to this agreement. Lord Charles Somerset, indeed, asserted afterwards that he was a consenting party to it; but he certainly did not express his approval from a free heart.

Just at this time his fortunes were at a low ebb, and he was obliged to conceal his sentiments; but his hostility towards Gaika was as strong as ever.

In June 1816 a mission station had been formed at the Kat river, about two miles above the present village of Fort Beaufort, by a party of people from Bethelsdorp. The reverend Mr. Read, after visiting various chiefs, selected a site for the station, which was then occupied by an evangelist named Joseph Williams, with his wife and child, Jan Tshatshu, son of the Amantinde captain, with his wife, and six Hottentot families. The missionary was present at the conference. He was an illiterate, but well-meaning and zealous man. The governor requested Gaika to protect him, and recommended the chief to listen to his instructions in religious matters, but not to regard him as an agent of the colonial government, or to use him as a means for communicating with the European authorities.

On the 28th of April, less than a month from the conclusion of the agreement with Gaika, notice was given to the officer commanding at Grahamstown that a party of Kosas had driven off nineteen oxen belonging to some Hottentots in the colony. Lieutenant Vereker, of the 83rd regiment, with one hundred men, was immediately sent in pursuit of the marauders. The spoor of the cattle was easily traced to the kraal of the Imidange captain Habana, who had not attended the conference with the governor. Lieutenant Vereker gave the chief till the next morning to decide whether he would restore the stolen cattle, and in the mean time as security took possession of the same number of oxen belonging to the kraal. When morning dawned, the lieutenant found the heights around him covered with Kaffirs in a hostile attitude, and received from Habana a peremptory refusal of restitution. He therefore left the kraal to return to Grahamstown with the cattle he had taken possession of. He was followed by the Kaffirs, but not molested until he reached a narrow pass in the valley of the Kat river, where Habana's people rushed with great impetuosity upon the troops, shouting and hurling their assegais,

by which three men were wounded. The soldiers fired in return, when five Kaffirs were killed and many others wounded. Those who were untouched fled in every direction. Lieutenant Vereker was not again molested, and he reached Grahamstown with the nineteen head of cattle, which were given to the Hottentots who had been plundered.

This event showed that the recent arrangement would not prevent stocklifting. Gaika, however, professed to abide by it, and on the 25th of May his interpreter—Hendrik Nutka by name—arrived at Grahamstown with fifty-three horses which he had recovered, and brought a promise of more.

Shortly after these occurrences the garrison of the colony was reduced, and it became necessary to weaken the frontier posts. The removal of the dragoons was a very serious loss, as that description of soldier was well adapted for patrolling the open country. The Royal African corps was sent out to take the place of the Hottentot regiment, which was to be disbanded, and the 60th regiment of the line arrived to relieve a much larger infantry force. The first of these regiments was entirely and the last partly composed of captured deserters and men convicted of petty offences, so that little reliance could be placed upon them. A small colonial corps of mixed cavalry and infantry, composed of halfbreeds and Hottentots, was raised; but it was far from being as effective as a regular force of dragoons.

The consequence was a great increase of depredations by Kaffirs. Incursions far into the colony became frequent, and Ndlambe refused even to restore colonial cattle seen in his kraals. Major Fraser, with a strong commando, entered Kaffirland on one occasion, and took from Ndlambe a sufficient number of cattle to cover the recent robberies; but no sooner was the force disbanded than the thieves were busy again, and two soldiers of the 72nd regiment were murdered by them.

Just at this time a change took place in the relative positions of the rival chiefs of the house of Rarabe, and Ndlambe suddenly became the more powerful of the two.

Years before, when he was regent during the minority of Gaika, his half-brother Cebo, right-hand son of Rarabe, died without leaving issue. According to Bantu custom, some one had to be selected to represent the dead chief, that his name might not perish; and one of Ndlambe's minor sons, Dushane by name, through his father's influence was chosen. From that moment Dushane was regarded as the heir of Cebo, and was obeyed by the people who formed the clan of that chief. When the quarrel between Ndlambe and Gaika arose and the bulk of the Amararabe were divided between them, the clan under Dushane remained distinct and took no part in the strife, as it was the right-hand branch, and the disputants were of the great house.

As the young chief advanced in years, he displayed abilities beyond those of any other member of the family of Tshawe. Keeping his followers out of the broils of the country and ruling them wisely, his clan rapidly grew, and by this time called itself by his name—the Imidushane—instead of that of Cebo. Without actually assisting Gaika in arms, Dushane had hitherto favoured the party of that chief, owing to a quarrel between him and his father concerning the neglect and ill-treatment of his mother. But early in 1818 the old councillors of Ndlambe effected a reconciliation between the father and son, and henceforth their clans acted in alliance, though remaining distinct.

Of even greater importance was the friendship of Makana, a man of enormous influence in the country. Those who have only the reports of colonial officers from which to form an opinion of Makana's character, or who judge of him from his well-known son Umjusa, may conclude that he was little more than an ordinary priest or witchfinder, such as those who become prominent in every war. One who has listened to the glowing language in which scores of old men have described the conduct of him who had gone from them forty years before, who has studied the effect of his teaching even in distant parts of Kaffirland, and who has collected his maxims and his predictions from those who revered his memory, must think differently.

Makana, son of Balaia, was not born to high rank among his people. His mother was held in repute as a wise woman, who was acquainted with mystical uses of plants, and who was skilful in divining events. Her son inherited her ability, and to the knowledge possessed by his countrymen added a good deal which he acquired from white people with whom he came in contact, especially from Dr. Vanderkemp, one of whose addresses upon the resurrection of the dead, which he heard at Bethelsdorp, leaving a lifelong impression upon him. Like all other Kaffirs, he admitted the existence of a Supreme God as soon as he was informed of such a Being; but he never embraced the doctrines of Christianity. He announced to his countrymen that he was in communication with the spirit world, and many of them believed him, although the proof which he offered on one occasion to give to some doubters signally failed. He told them to go to a hollow rock on the beach near the mouth of the Buffalo river, where the waves make a great noise at high water, and at a certain time he would join them, when they would see their dead relatives living again. They went as directed to the rock, which is called Gompo by the Kosas. Makana appeared at the time appointed; but though the dead did not rise, his prestige was not affected. On many occasions he announced events that would shortly take place; and these announcements often—thousands of his countrymen believed always—proved correct.

Before Makana's time the corpses of common people were not buried by the Kosas. After contact with a dead human body, a person had to go through certain ceremonies and to live secluded from society for a time, so that those who were seen to be dying were usually removed to the border of a forest or a lonely glen, and left there. If death took place in a hut, the body was dragged to a distance with a thong, and the hut was burnt down. Makana gave instructions that the dead should be buried in the ground, and announced that the displeasure of the spirit world would be visited upon those who disobeyed. His adherents

complied, their example was followed by others, and within twenty years the practice of internment became general. Several vile habits, that can only be alluded to in general terms, were abandoned by his followers at his bidding; but have been adopted again by their descendants.

For superstitious reasons many persons did not like to pronounce the name of Makana, and among such persons he was called by a word—Nxele—signifying the lefthanded one. In their intercourse with colonists they used the Dutch equivalent Linksch, which the English officials on the frontier corrupted into Lynx, and by this name he is known in the colonial records. In 1816 Makana was so powerful that the missionaries of the London society were for a time doubtful whether it would not be more advantageous to establish a station at his kraal than at that of Gaika.

For some years after the rise of this man to influence, he aimed at a consolidation of the western Kosas, and when this scheme proved impracticable he declared himself on the side of Ndlambe. His guidance was followed by nearly all the little bands into which the clans that of old had given so much trouble to the colony were now broken, and the balance of power between the rival descendants of Rarabe was at once turned.

Gaika's residence at this time was by the head waters of the Tyumie, in one of the most beautiful valleys of South Africa. Above his kraals rose the grand mountain range of the Amatola, the highest dome of which is yet known by his name, and the hillsides and all the low lands along the margin of the river in the planting season were one great cornfield. There was a dense population in the valley, which was as renowned for fertility then among the Kosas as it is now among the Europeans and the Fingos who have succeeded them in its possession. The stream, that springs in cascades from one of the thick forests which clothe the deep kloofs of the Amatola, was termed the river of sweet waters, and its claim to the title was just. The Kaffir has a keen eye for beauty of situation, and here his love of mountain scenery was gratified to the full.

Makana formed a plan to draw Gaika away from his kraals, into an ambush where his enemies would be certain of victory. For this purpose a large party was sent out by night to seize the cattle belonging to one of his subordinate chieftains, and then to fall back to the eastward. Gaika called his ordinary councillors together to devise a scheme of retaliation, and requested various prominent men of the clan to aid him with advice. One of them recommended him to be cautious, and not to cross the Keiskama under any circumstances, for fear of being led into a trap. The man who gave this advice was Ntsikana, the composer of the hymn that still bears his name, a strange wild chant that is capable of stirring the feelings of his countrymen more than any other poetry yet written.

At that time Ntsikana had not the influence which he possessed at a later date. He was a son of Gaba, one of the hereditary councillors of the clan; but there was a stigma attaching to him, because it was believed that his mother's father—Bindi by name—had kept a certain fabulous bird, through whose agency he had bewitched people. Nonabe, his mother, had been repudiated and driven away by Gaba on this account, and he had been brought up among the children of Noyiki, another of his father's wives. From Mr. Williams Ntsikana learned the leading doctrines of Christianity, and being convinced of their truth, in 1818 he began to instruct some of his countrymen, who assembled under the trees on the banks of the Mankazana to listen to him. Certainly portions of his doctrine were not what Europeans would term orthodox; how could it be otherwise in a mind shackled by hereditary superstition even while earnestly striving to seek the truth.¹ The feuds of his clan, too, gave

¹ In the case of most converts—perhaps all—it would be a mistake to suppose that our form of Christianity entirely replaces the Bantu belief. Even in the third generation of professing Christians the old religion often exhibits its presence in a way that startles observers. It has not even been dormant, much less was it dead. Instead of the new doctrine eradicating and entirely filling the place previously occupied by his hereditary religion, the profession of our faith by a Kaffir seems only to give a Christian colouring to his belief. The one undoubtedly leavens the other, but, if I have observed

rise to feelings which found expression in invectives against Makana and Makana's followers.

Many of Ntsikana's sayings have been preserved verbatim by Kaffir antiquaries, and among others the advice which he sent to Gaika by the messenger Ntsadu on this occasion: 'Listen, son of Umlawu, to the words of the servant of God, and do not cross the Keiskama. I see the Gaikas scattered on the mountains, I see their heads devoured by ants. The enemy is watching there, and defeat awaits your plumed ones.' Gaika was disposed to be guided by Ntsikana's advice; but one Mankoyi, a warrior of note, was urgent for revenge. The councillors supported Mankoyi in recommending a raid upon Ndlambe's people, and this was agreed upon. The line of march even was settled, and was at once made known to Makana by his spies.

The warriors set out from the Tyumie before sunrise of a winter morning, and marched eastward until they reached the pass named Debe Nek, under the peak called Intaba-ka-Ndoda. Then, in the plain below, they saw the Amandlambe arrayed for battle, and covering the ground in patches like strips of red carpet. The plain is called by Europeans the Kommetje flats, from a great number of saucer-like cavities in its surface. By the Kosas these depressions are called amalinde, and from this circumstance the battle of that day is still spoken of by them as the battle of Amalinde. Gaika's warriors thought they saw the whole force of their enemies, and when Mankoyi shouted exultingly, 'Huku, to-day we have them,' it was with difficulty that more prudent men restrained an impetuous rush. In reality, much the larger portion of Ndlambe's army was concealed, and a strong division of Galekas, intended as a reserve, was posted three or four miles farther eastward, close to the Green river.

Until a much later date than that in which these events occurred, Kosa warriors were divided into two classes. Of

these people correctly, ancestral worship and feticbism will only be completely removed by a series of rejections, taking place with long intervals of time between them. I refer to the converts in general; there are individuals to whom these remarks may not be applicable, though even of this I have doubts

these, one was composed of veterans, whose heads were adorned with feathers of the blue crane, as a mark of distinction. They were supposed to attack those only who had similar marks of honour, and held every one else in disdain. The other class was composed of young men, who went by the name of round heads. At the commencement of an action, if the plumed ones came in contact with round heads, they would merely protect themselves with their shields without using their assagais, but in the heat of battle all such distinctions were forgotten.

As soon as the Gaikas were seen to halt, Ndlambe sent his round heads up to attack them, but these were easily driven back, and their opponents rushed down after them, yelling defiance. This was all that was desired, for now the plumed ones sprang to their feet, large parties hitherto concealed made their appearance, and the fight commenced in earnest. Makoma, Gaika's right-hand son, in after years to be known as the bitter foe of the white man, was the hero of his father's side in this the first battle in which he was ever engaged. He led his band right into the centre of the field, and charged again and again at the thickest mass of the foe. At length he was severely wounded, and was compelled to retire, narrowly escaping being made a prisoner as he did so.

It was not long past midday when the battle began, and all the afternoon it lasted, till about sunset the Gaikas were driven from the field with dreadful slaughter. As long as they could see, the Ndlambes pursued them, and when darkness closed in, the victors returned to the scene of carnage and kindled great fires, by the light of which they sought their wounded enemies and put them to death with brutal ferocity. The night was bitterly cold, and many hundreds of poor wretches, who managed to crawl to a distance, were found next morning dead and dying. From the time that Rarabe crossed the Kei, no such desperate combat had been known among the Kosas, and it was the event from which the aged among them until very recently dated all the occurrences of their youth.

Gaika fled westward to the Winterberg, and sent to the

nearest military post, urgently requesting aid. The adherents of Ndlambe took possession of his corn pits, and burned his kraals, but were unable to secure the whole of his cattle, as the herds were hastily driven away. At first not much credit was attached to the story told by Hendrik Nutka, Gaika's messenger, who related that in numerous families there was not a male member left alive, and that no such wailing as that of the women had ever before been heard in the Kaffir country; but shortly so many accounts reached the government that all doubt disappeared.

Lord Charles Somerset then directed Lieutenant-Colonel Brereton, of the Royal African corps, to march to the assistance of the ally of the colony with a small force of soldiers and mounted burghers. Accordingly, in December 1818 Colonel Brereton crossed the Fish river, and being joined by Gaika's people, attacked Ndlambe, who was believed to be at the head of eighteen thousand men.

Ndlambe and his followers, however, did not venture to make a stand on open ground, but retired to dense thickets, which afforded them shelter. Several of their kraals were destroyed, and some of their movable property was seized. The British commander found it impossible to restrain the savage passions of the Gaikas, who were mad with excitement and joy at being able to take revenge, and were unwilling to show mercy when any of their enemies fell into their hands. He withdrew, therefore, before accomplishing the destruction of Ndlambe, taking with him twenty-three thousand head of cattle. Of these, nine thousand were given to Gaika, some were distributed among the farmers who had suffered from depredations, and the remainder were sold to defray the expenses of the expedition. On reaching Grahamstown, the burghers were disbanded and permitted to return to their homes.

Ndlambe at once took advantage of the opportunity. Falling upon Gaika, he compelled that chief and his adherents to flee to the mountains near the junction of the Baviaans' and Fish rivers, and then he poured his warriors into the colony. The inhabitants of the district between

the Fish and Sunday rivers, unless in the neighbourhood of military posts, were compelled to retire to laagers, and lost nearly all their movable property. Several small military patrols were attacked, and seventeen white people and thirteen Hottentots were murdered. Among those who lost their lives were Captain Gethin, of the 72nd regiment, and Ensign Hunt, of the Royal African corps. The former, with seven soldiers, was pursuing some marauders near his post at De Bruin's drift, when he was surrounded and stabbed to death. His men recovered the body, which was found with thirty wounds, and it was removed to Grahamstown for burial. Ensign Hunt with a small patrol was attacked on a plain at night. The assailants were beaten off, but he fell in the combat.

The London missionary society's station Theopolis was twice attacked, but only by a small force, which the Hottentot residents managed to beat off. A small party attacked the Moravian station Enon, and several Hottentots were killed before the assailants retired. The missionaries and their people then removed for safety to Uitenhage, and they had hardly gone when the place was pillaged and destroyed.

Makana was the leading actor in this movement. His messengers were everywhere in Kaffirland, calling upon all true Kosas to take part in the strife against the Europeans and the Gaikas, in thrilling language promising victory to those who would do their duty, and denouncing the wrath of the spirits against those who should hold back.¹

¹ The poet Pringle, who from 1820 to 1822 lived close to the scene of these events, caught the spirit of Makana's burning words, and exhibited it in the following stirring lines:—

MAKANA'S GATHERING.

Wake! Amakosa, wake!
And arm yourselves for war.
As coming winds the forest shake,
I hear a sound from far:
It is not thunder in the sky,
Nor lion's roar upon the hill,
But the voice of Him who sits on high,
And bids me speak His will!

As Colonel Brereton was desirous of returning to Europe, on the 21st of February 1819 Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Willshire, of the 88th regiment, was directed by the governor to proceed to the frontier and take over the command, and on

He bids me call you forth,
Bold sons of Barabe,
To sweep the white men from the earth,
And drive them to the sea :
The sea, which heaved them up at first,
For Amakosa's curse and bane,
Howls for the progeny she nursed,
To swallow them again.

Hark ! 'tis Uhlanga's voice
From Debe's mountain caves !
He calls you now to make your choice—
To conquer or be slaves :
To meet proud Amangolezi's guns,
And fight like warriors nobly born ;
Or like Umlawu's feeble sons,
Become the freeman's scorn.

Then come, ye chieftains bold,
With war-plumes waving high ;
Come, every warrior young and old,
With club and assagai.
Remember how the spoiler's host
Did through our land like locusts range !
Your herds, your wives, your comrades lost—
Remember—and revenge !

Fling your broad shields away—
Bootless against such foes ;
But hand to hand we'll fight to-day,
And with their bayonets close.
Grasp each man short his stabbing spear—
And, when to battle's edge we come,
Rush on their ranks in full career,
And to their hearts strike home !

Wake ! Amakosa, wake !
And muster for the war :
The wizard-wolves from Kesi's brake,
The vultures from afar,
Are gathering at Uhlanga's call,
And follow fast our westward way—
For well they know, ere evening-fall,
They shall have glorious prey !

the 3rd of March a strong burgher force was called out. The frontier districts were at this time suffering from a long drought, and the horse sickness was unusually severe, so that it was with difficulty the farmers could take the field. Before the commando could be got together Grahamstown was attacked.

The troops there consisted of forty-five men of the 38th infantry, one hundred and thirty-five men of the Royal African corps, thirty-two armed men unattached, and one hundred and twenty-one men of the Cape corps. Makana was made acquainted with the exact strength of the garrison, and with every circumstance of importance that transpired, by Hendrik Nutka, who had become a spy and in the character of Gaika's messenger had been some days in the place.

The attack was made soon after sunrise on the morning of the 22nd of April 1819 by between nine and ten thousand men. When they made their appearance, Colonel Willshire was at some distance from the town, inspecting a cavalry troop of the Cape corps. Captain Trappes, the next in command, however, at once made arrangements for defence. Leaving sixty men of the Royal African corps, under Lieutenant Cartwright, to defend the barracks, he drew up the remainder of the infantry between the houses and the approaching enemy. Colonel Willshire and the cavalry arrived just in time to aid in the defence.

When full in view, the Kosas arranged their order of attack. A detachment left the main body and took up a position to intercept any aid from the post at Bluekrans. The remainder formed into three columns, and upon a signal from their leader, rushed forward with fierce war-cries. Two of these columns, led respectively by Dushane and Kobe, son of the late chief Cungwa and brother of Pato, hurled themselves against Colonel Willshire's band. The soldiers stood firm till they were within a few paces, and then poured a volley of musketry and artillery into them. This checked the advance, and immediately the troops charged in their turn, and put the Kosas to flight.

The largest of the three columns was directed against the barracks, and was led by Makana. He had given his followers orders to break their assagai shafts short off, and to close in a hand to hand combat. Lieutenant Cartwright received them with a discharge of musketry, but they seemed regardless of death when under Makana's eye, and pressed eagerly on until they penetrated the barrack square. Here they were exposed to a deadly fire, while the soldiers could not be reached with their assagais, and when at last they fled in dismay, one hundred and two dead bodies were lying in the square. They carried their wounded away with them.

Meantime the other columns rallied and returned to the attack. They were met as before by a storm of cannon and musket balls, and some of their leaders were picked off by a few Hottentot hunters under the old captain Boesak, who came into Grahamstown at the most critical moment, and gave Colonel Willshire all the aid they could. The bands under Dushane and Kobe were once more forced to retire, and when Makana's column joined them in flight, no attempt was made to renew the combat.

The whole loss of the Kosas in the attack on Grahams-town cannot be stated. It was supposed to be from a thousand to thirteen hundred men. About five hundred bodies were counted, but many more died of their wounds before reaching the Fish river. Three of Ndlambe's minor sons were among the killed. Hendrik Nutka, the spy who had given Makana information of the strength of the garrison, was with the column that attempted to storm the barracks. He was wounded and made a prisoner, when he was immediately shot. The casualties on the English side were three men killed and five wounded.

Shortly after this event the burghers who had been called out assembled, but nearly three months elapsed before the preparations for invading Kaffirland were completed. The force then on the frontier consisted of one thousand eight hundred and fifty mounted burghers, eleven hundred men of the 38th and 72nd regiments and the Royal African corps,

thirty-two artillerymen, two hundred and twenty men of the Cape corps, and one hundred and fifty Hottentot levies. Seven hundred soldiers of the line and one hundred and fifty men of the Cape corps were left to guard the posts, and the remainder of the force was formed into three columns.

On the 22nd of July one of these columns, under Landdrost Stockenstrom, of Graaff-Reinet, encamped at the Winterberg. On the 31st of the same month Lieutenant-Colonel Willshire at the head of the central column crossed the Fish river at De Bruin's drift, and the right column under Major Fraser crossed near the sea. They scoured the jungles along the Fish river, drove the hostile clans eastward with heavy loss, and followed them to the banks of the Kei. About thirty thousand head of cattle were seized, and all the loose property belonging to the enemy was destroyed. Ndlambe's power was broken, many of his adherents were killed, and those who remained alive were reduced to the condition of destitute fugitives.

On the 15th of August Makana surrendered to Landdrost Stockenstrom, stating that he did so to procure peace for his people, who were starving. He took this step without the consent or even the knowledge of his followers, who were ready to perish with him. A few days after his surrender a small party of Kaffirs was seen at the edge of a thicket near Colonel Willshire's camp, making signs that they desired a parley. Colonel Willshire, Landdrost Stockenstrom, and another officer went to meet them unarmed, when two Kaffirs approached, who proved to be councillors of Ndlambe and Makana. After a few questions relative to the prisoner, Makana's councillor gave a brief history of the war, asserting that it was an unjust one on the part of the Europeans, and ending with the following sentences, as taken down at the time by Landdrost Stockenstrom:—

‘We wish for peace, we wish to rest in our huts, we wish to get milk for our children, our wives wish to till the land. But your troops cover the plains, and swarm in the thickets, where they cannot distinguish the man from the woman, and

shoot all. You want us to submit to Gaika. That man's face is fair to you, but his heart is insincere. Leave him to himself. Make peace with us. Let him fight for himself, and *we* will not call on you for help. Set Makana free, and Ndlambe, Kobe, and the others will come to you any time you fix. But if you will still make war, you may indeed kill the last man of us; but Gaika shall not rule over the followers of those who think him a woman.'

Makana was sent a prisoner to Robben Island, where political offenders as well as persons convicted of crime were then kept in detention, but after a confinement of less than a year he endeavoured to escape. There was a whaling establishment belonging to Mr. Murray on the island. During the night of the 9th of August 1820 Makana at the head of thirty prisoners overpowered the guard, seized the whaling boats, and tried to get to the mainland. His companions succeeded in reaching the shore,¹ but he was drowned in the surf. The generation to which he belonged passed away, however, before his countrymen would acknowledge that he was dead, for many of them firmly believed that he was immortal. Through the three succeeding wars they looked confidently for his appearance to lead them to victory. It was only in 1873 that his mats and ornaments, carefully preserved during all that period, were buried, and every expectation of his returning to Kaffirland was lost. The long deferred and finally abandoned hope of his reappearance has given rise to a proverb: *kukusa kuka Nxele*—the coming

¹ As soon as possible, they were followed by a commando under Fieldcornet Coenraad van Eyssen, but they were found to have divided into several parties, only one of which was overtaken. This band was composed of desperate characters who refused to surrender, but three of them were captured and some others were shot. The three—among whom was a European named John Smith—were hanged for the offence, and their heads were afterwards fixed on stakes and exposed to view on Robben Island. Most of the other fugitives were subsequently apprehended, and received various kinds of punishment. This event led to the breaking up of the whaling establishment on Robben Island shortly after Lord Charles Somerset's return to the colony. The governor, believing that the boats offered too great a temptation to the convicts, required Mr. Murray to remove to the mainland, but in December 1822 awarded him 1,150*l.* as compensation for his buildings.

of Nkele—you are looking for something you will never see.¹

With Makana's surrender hostilities ceased, though the commandos were kept in the field to prevent the fugitive adherents of Ndlambe from returning and settling west of the Keiskama. The governor proceeded to the frontier, and on the 15th of October at the Gwanga had a conference with Gaika and as many of the chiefs lately in arms as had surrendered or could be induced to meet him. Eno, Botumane, Pato, Habana, and Gasela were present. Kasa had fallen in the war. It was believed that Ndlambe was a fugitive beyond the Kei. And now a step was taken which in after years was denounced as a cruel wrong by the great philanthropic societies in England, and which no one attempted to justify except on the plea of necessity.

The Fish river along its lower course, being bordered by dense and extensive thickets, was a very bad boundary. These thickets were composed chiefly of useless shrubs, which could not be burned or destroyed. They afforded the most perfect sheltering places for thieves, who could lie in wait there for favourable opportunities to enter the colony in search of plunder, and when stolen cattle were once within them, rescue was next to impossible. The paths through the Fish river bush, as the belt of thickets was termed, were merely tracks made by elephants, except where roads had been constructed with an enormous expenditure of labour. The clearing of this bush during the war had been an operation of such difficulty that the military officers were unanimous in opinion that the Kosas ought not to be allowed again to get possession of it. They thought the Keiskama, the next large stream to the eastward, would form a much better boundary. Its banks were more open, and its line was much shorter, because the mountain range in which it

¹ Though Makana had four wives, he left but one son, Umjusa by name, and four daughters. Three of his children are still alive (1890). Umjusa has six wives and thirty children. One of his sons, known among his countrymen by his Kosa name Galada, and among Europeans as the reverend John William Gawler, is a deacon in the English episcopal church.

risers, and which was the inland border of the Kaffir country, there approached more closely to the sea.

Lord Charles Somerset adopted this view, and resolved to act upon it. The land between the Keiskama and Fish rivers, from the coast up to the Gwanga streamlet where the conference with the chiefs took place, belonged by hereditary right to the Gunukwebe clan, and as they had been among the most active enemies of the colony, the governor conceived that he was justified in declaring it forfeited. Above the Gwanga the greater portion of the territory between the old colonial boundary and the Keiskama had always been unoccupied, but those kraals which stood in it before the war belonged to Gaika's adherents, and the whole country might fairly be claimed by him.

Lord Charles therefore sought to get possession of it under colour of an amicable arrangement. He proposed to Makana that the Keiskama should be the future boundary, in order that between the two races there might be a vacant tract of land, which he would cause to be patrolled by soldiers, and thus peace and friendship would be preserved. The chief felt that he was in the governor's power. Even at that moment, when Ndlambe was a fugitive, Makana a prisoner, and his other enemies prostrate, he knew that if the countenance of the white man was withdrawn there was nothing but trouble in store for him. He therefore tried to make the best bargain possible under the circumstances. He asked that the valley of the Tyumie might be left to him. It was there, he said, that he was born, and there he wished to live. He was asked how he could say he was born in the Tyumie valley, when at the time of his birth the whole of the upper country west of the Keiskama had no other occupants than Bushmen. He replied that he did not mean he was actually born there, but he had gone to live there when he was a boy, and if the governor would but let him keep that valley he would agree to the cession of the land beyond.

Lord Charles consented, and with Gaika's nominal concurrence declared the western boundary of the Kaffir

country to be the ridge of hills branching off from the Winterberg range and forming the watershed between the Kat and Tyumie rivers, the Tyumie to the Keiskama, and the Keiskama to the sea. The terms of the arrangement were not committed to writing, and one point in the line was left obscure. Where was the junction between the ridge of hills and the Tyumie river to be? During many years thereafter the Gaga, a streamlet running through the present village of Alice, was commonly regarded as the line of connection, but a future acting governor decided upon the next higher tributary of the Tyumie. No difficulty in this respect, however, was foreseen when the arrangement was made. It was understood that the territory between the new line and the old colonial boundary was to be occupied only by soldiers.

The governor required the other chiefs present at the conference to acknowledge Gaika as their head, and they did not venture to refuse. None of them objected to the new boundary, but they were not asked to agree to it, for Lord Charles would only treat with Gaika. The transaction must be regarded simply as an act of authority on his part. Gaika had no right under Kaffir law to cede an inch of ground, and if he had, his consent in this instance was not freely given. That the Kaffirs regarded the land as taken from them, and not as voluntarily ceded by them, is certain from their assertions in after years, as well as by their describing the English ever since that time as *omasisa mbulala*—people who rescue and kill.

After the conference the governor established temporary military camps on the Gaga and the Gwanga, enlarged the Cape corps, and permitted the burghers to return to their homes. He then selected a site for a permanent post, and directed a strong pentagonal fort to be built, which he named Fort Willshire. It was on a slope gently rising from a long and deep reach of the Keiskama, a few miles below the junction of the Tyumie. The river at this place makes its nearest approach to the old colonial boundary, so that the fort was on a neck between the wider parts of the ceded

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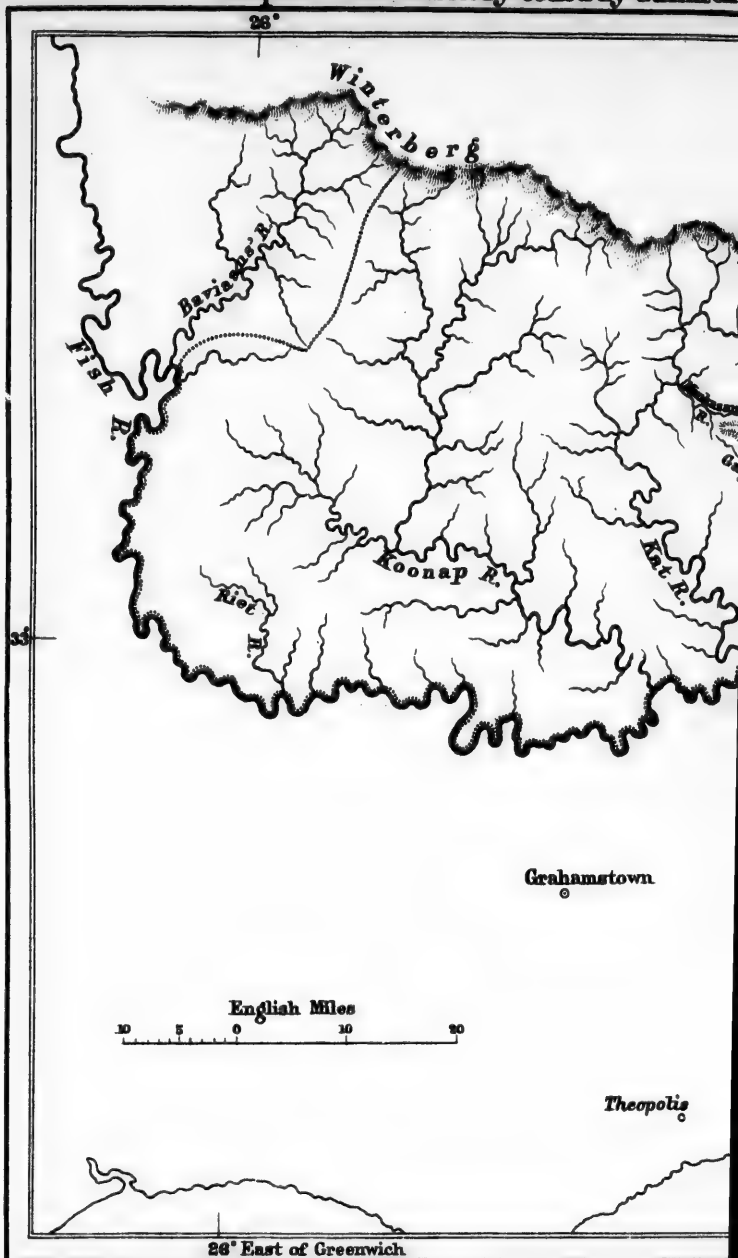
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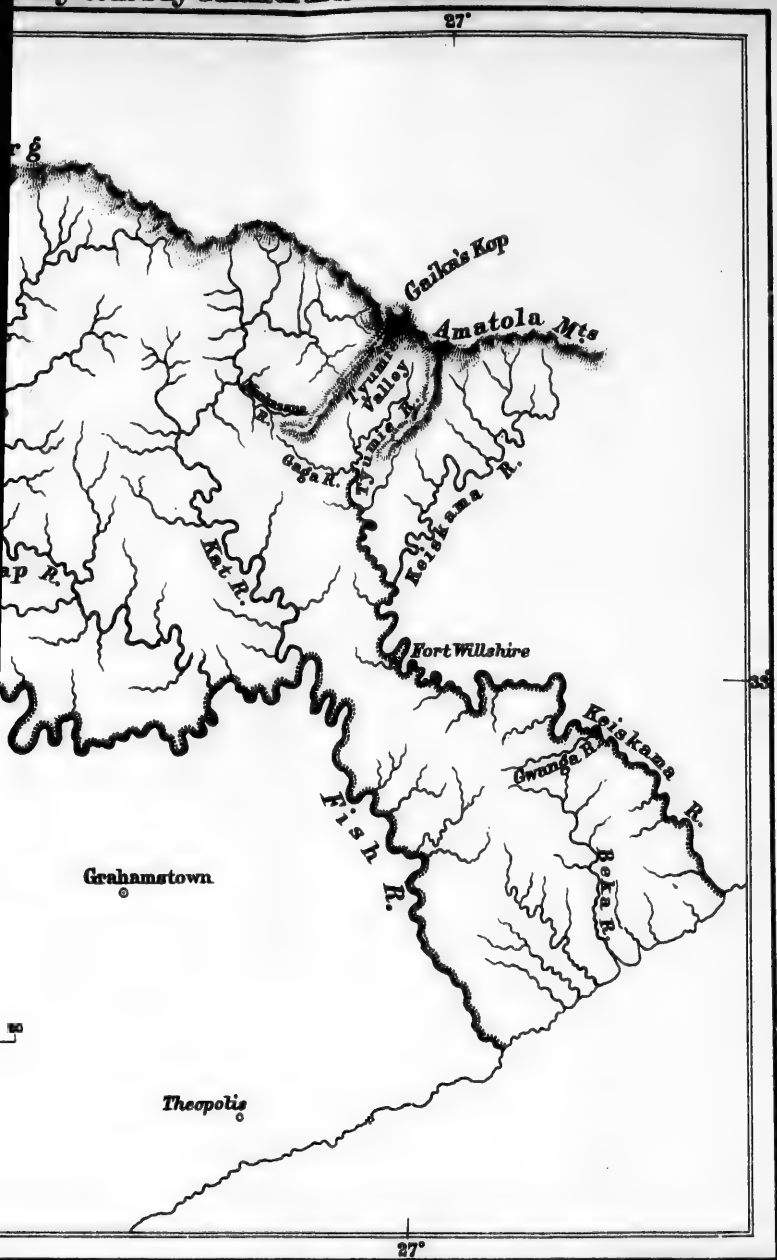
Map X. The Territory ceded by Gaika on



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London: Swan Sonnenschein

territory ceded by Gaika on the 15th of October 1819.



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territory above and below it. Before the close of the year a commencement was made with the walls, which were constructed of stone, neatly cut at the angles. A detachment of the 72nd regiment was stationed there under canvas, and nearly the whole engineer force in the country was employed upon the work.

Before 1817 the number of British-born subjects who settled in South Africa was not large, and hardly any were to be found beyond the cape peninsula. In this year a gentleman named Benjamin Moodie, with the concurrence of the imperial authorities, agreed with some two hundred Scotch mechanics to apprentice themselves to him for three years, and had them sent out in detachments. Upon their arrival so great was the demand for their labour that Mr. Moodie had no difficulty in selling as many of the indentures as he cared to part with, chiefly to the mechanics themselves, at from 50*l.* to 60*l.* each. The men thus introduced were soon in prosperous circumstances, and by getting out their families and writing to their friends helped to bring the colony to the notice of the labouring classes of Great Britain. In the same year some seven or eight hundred time-expired soldiers and sailors were discharged in South Africa, and readily found employment. In 1819 a gentleman named Peter Tait attempted to introduce immigrants in the same manner as Mr. Moodie, but only twenty-five individuals found their way to the colony through his agency.

Three new magistracies were created at this time.

On the 24th of May 1814 that portion of the Cape peninsula south of a line from Muizenburg to Noordhoek was formed into a district named Simonstown. Mr. Jan Hendrik Brand, previously deputy fiscal, was directed to carry out the duties of a landdrost, though he had only the title of resident. Heemraden, however, were not appointed until October 1824. The district was divided into two field-cornetcies, and the town into two wards, each under a wardmaster with the same powers and duties as those in Capetown. The creation of the new court of law was necessary, as Simon's Bay had been chosen as the place of

outfit and refreshment for the ships of war on the station, and as the port of call for the East India Company's ships during the winter season. A customhouse was now established in Simonstown, and a good road to Capetown was made at a cost of over 16,000*l*.

On the 27th of November 1818 the district of Beaufort was formed out of a tract of land beyond the Zak river and portions of Graaff-Reinet and Tulbagh. The northern boundary of the colony as defined by the Batavian administration was not at this time respected, and no other had been proclaimed. In practice, the boundary was regarded as the last occupied farms. From this line Beaufort extended southward to the Zwartebergen, and from the Pramberg and Kareiga river on the east to the Dwika river on the west. It was divided into ten fieldcornetcies. Mr. J. Baird was appointed head of the new district, with the title of deputy landdrost, and in some matters he was made subject to the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, though in most respects he was independent of that officer. A loan place in occupation of a farmer named Abraham de Klerk, close to the Nieuwveld mountains, was selected as a good site for the drostdy. The buildings on it were purchased, the lease was cancelled, and the village of Beaufort West was laid out. The reverend John Taylor, who had previously been a missionary of the London society, entered the service of the colonial government, and when the district was created was stationed here as a clergyman of the Dutch reformed church. The judges of the circuit court were directed to visit the village on their progress through the colony, and a staff of minor officials similar to those of the old districts was appointed.

On the 20th of October 1819 a deputy landdrost was stationed at Worcester in the district of Tulbagh, with the same powers and duties as those at Clanwilliam, Caledon, Grahamstown, and Cradock. Mr. J. F. van de Graaff was removed from Cradock to Worcester, and was succeeded at his former post by Captain W. Harding, a retired officer of the Cape corps. The site of the village was selected by

Lord Charles Somerset early in 1819, and consisted of two loan places named Langerug and Roodedraai, the buildings on which were purchased in March for about 3,750*l*. A better position for a country village could not have been chosen. It is in the centre of the valley of the Breede river, on a plain with just sufficient slope for drainage, and it has an abundant supply of good water from the Hex river. The great road down the valley goes through it, the road up the pass of the Hex river into the Karoo commences here, and in 1819 it had just been discovered that a road through the Drakenstein mountains could be made by way of the French Hoek pass, which would be almost a straight line from Capetown. These advantages were enhanced by the fertility of the country in the neighbourhood, and, in Lord Charles Somerset's eyes, by the fine mountain scenery which closed the view in every direction. He named the village Worcester from his elder brother's title.

In 1816 it was ascertained that the mouth of the Breede river could be entered by small vessels in fine weather, and that above the bar the stream was navigable for more than thirty miles by cutters drawing only five or six feet of water. A coasting trade with Capetown was commenced, in which two small vessels were constantly employed. Lord Charles Somerset, who was rapidly covering the map of the colony with the titles of his family, gave the mouth of the river the name Port Beaufort.¹

At about the same time it was ascertained that ships of almost any size could enter the sheet of water called the Knysna, if the wind was blowing inshore so that they would not be becalmed in the narrow passage between the heads. The coast line is here high and precipitous, and the entrance to the Knysna is a sharp and deep cleft in it. When once inside, vessels are securely sheltered. In May 1817 the ship-of-war *Podargus* visited the inlet, and Captain Wallis, who was in command, reported very favourably of it. The

¹ On this part of the South African coast a pearl oyster abounds, undistinguishable from that of Ceylon. Many valuable pearls have been found in the vicinity of Port Beaufort.

admiral on the station was confident that the place could be turned to good account for building ships for the royal navy, in consequence of the abundance of timber in the forests close by. A large brig was put on the stocks as an experiment. But the hull before launching was accidentally destroyed by fire, and the expense was so much greater than was anticipated that the project was abandoned. The forest-clad country enclosing the Knyana being mountainous and intersected with deep ravines, the port was difficult of access from the interior, and was thereafter frequented only by vessels employed in conveying timber to Capetown.

Nothing had ever yet been done to relieve the most miserable of living creatures in South Africa, those unfortunate people who were afflicted with the dreadful disease of leprosy. They were to be found scattered over all parts of the colony, but chiefly in the fishing hamlets along the coast. In some instances they were quite unable to do anything for themselves, and were dependent for food upon the poorest of the coloured people, to which class most of them belonged. Apart from the thought of human beings in their deplorable state suffering from want of sustenance and shelter, there was danger of the disease spreading by contagion. As soon as his attention was called to the subject, Lord Charles Somerset admitted that something must be done at once, and the result was the establishment early in 1817 of the leper asylum Hemel en Aarde, in the present division of Caledon. The asylum was thrown open to all, but no one was compelled to enter it. In a short time about a hundred coloured people were admitted, and were provided with sufficient food and clothing of a coarse kind, but better than they had been accustomed to before. The cost of this institution did not exceed about thirteen hundred pounds yearly.

The attention of the Moravians was drawn towards the poor creatures at Hemel en Aarde, but the missionaries were too few in number to keep up the work they already had in hand. As soon as a brother could be spared, however, that post was assigned to him, and at the beginning of

1823 the reverend Mr. Leitner with his wife went to reside at the asylum. Religious instruction, as everywhere with these excellent men, was accompanied with the example of industry, though naturally here the only object in view was to create some healthy occupation for the minds of the sufferers. That their misery was lessened thereby was the universal testimony of those who afterwards visited the place.

In 1817 two new congregations of the Dutch reformed church were formed. In March of that year the reverend Cornelis Mol, who had just returned from studying in Europe, was stationed at Uitenhage, and in June the reverend John Evans, previously a missionary of the London society, was stationed at Cradock.

The Lutheran and English episcopal churches remained as in 1814.

In 1815 Lord Charles Somerset encouraged the Moravian brethren at Genadendal by adding three thousand six hundred and twelve morgen to their grounds, and in June 1816 he granted them a tract of land on the Witte river—a tributary of the Sunday—where they established a new station, which they named Enon, for the benefit of the Hotentots of the eastern part of the colony. This station was abandoned and destroyed in the war of 1819, but upon the restoration of peace it was occupied again.

The London society founded no new stations within the colony during this period. The evangelist Williams, who has been mentioned as settling on the Kat river, died in August 1818, when Lord Charles Somerset considered it more prudent that a missionary should be appointed by the government, and be its agent. The reverend John Brownlee was therefore induced to sever his connection with the London society, and in December 1819 was appointed missionary with Gailin, but he did not occupy the post until June 1820, when he formed a station in the upper part of the Tyumie valley.

The Wesleyan society commenced mission work in South Africa at this time. In 1814 one of its agents—by name McKenny—arrived in Capetown; but as he attempted to

preach to some soldiers of his creed, he got out of favour with Lord Charles Somerset, who regarded that field of work as the exclusive possession of the English episcopal church. Mr. McKenny was then directed not to officiate as a clergyman. The society brought the matter before Earl Bathurst, secretary of state for the colonies, when it was arranged that Mr. McKenny should be recalled, but that no obstruction should be placed in the way of any Wesleyan missionary sent to the heathen, and that in the case of professing Christians the toleration act of England should be regarded as of force in South Africa. A party of missionaries was then sent out, who arrived at Capetown in April 1816, and shortly afterwards one of them—the reverend Barnabas Shaw—founded a station among the Hottentots at Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand.

According to the census of 1819 the population of the colony consisted of forty-two thousand two hundred and seventeen white people of all ages, thirty-one thousand six hundred and ninety-six slaves, twenty-four thousand four hundred and thirty-three Hottentots, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three free blacks, and one thousand four hundred and twenty-eight negro apprentices taken out of captured slave ships.

Of late years several changes had taken place in the method of administering justice, and by a notice of the high court, which received the governor's approval on the 4th of December 1819, these were now legalised. The powers of the courts of landdrost and heemraden of the country districts were enlarged in criminal cases, so that they could sentence offenders to be scourged, to be imprisoned, or to be banished for short periods. The district secretaries acted as public prosecutors in these courts, and the landdrost and two heemraden formed a quorum.

Cases of a more serious nature were tried by the circuit court of two judges, but if on investigation it was evident that the penalty would be death, the accused was brought before the high court in Capetown, which consisted of the chief justice and six judges. The landdrosts acted as public

prosecutors in the circuit court, and the fiscal in the high court of justice.

In Capetown two judges sat daily to try such cases as came before the landdrosts and heemraden in the country districts. Whenever it was deemed advisable by the fiscal, prisoners not charged with capital offences were sent to Capetown from any part of the colony to be tried by a court consisting of the chief justice and four judges, in which an advocate appointed by the landdrost of the district in which the crime was committed acted as prosecutor.

Lord Charles Somerset was desirous of visiting England to arrange some family matters, and in 1818 he requested leave of absence from the colony. This was granted by the secretary of state, and an arrangement was made for carrying on the government during his absence. In 1816 when the garrison was reduced, the office of lieutenant-governor was abolished, and General Meade, who had held it, was replaced in his military capacity by a man of much lower rank. To provide for carrying on the government by an officer of position during Lord Charles Somerset's absence, Major-General Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin was attached temporarily to the military staff at the Cape, and was directed to assume the administration, with the title of acting governor. On the 13th of January 1820 he took the oaths of office. In the evening of the same day Lord Charles Somerset embarked in the ship-of-war *Sappho*, and set sail for England.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR RUFANE SHAWE DONKIN, ACTING GOVERNOR, 13 JANUARY 1820 TO 30 NOVEMBER 1821.

GENERAL LORD CHARLES HENRY SOMERSET, GOVERNOR, RESUMED DUTY 30 NOVEMBER 1821; EMBARKED FOR ENGLAND ON LEAVE OF ABSENCE 5 MARCH 1826.

Arrival of a large number of British settlers—Foundation of the village of Bathurst—Formation of the district of Albany—Plans of Sir Rufane Donkin to occupy the country between the Fish and Keiskama rivers—Causes of ill-feeling between Sir Rufane Donkin and Lord Charles Somerset—Overturning of Sir Rufane Donkin's measures by Lord Charles Somerset—Disfranchisement of the British settlers—Proclamation forbidding public meetings—Establishment of fairs at Fort Willshire—Introduction of a party of Irish labourers—Proclamation concerning the law of inheritance—Great flood in the eastern districts—Improvement in the condition of the British settlers—Proclamation making English the official language of the colony—Arrival of commissioners of inquiry—Creation of a council of advice to aid the governor—Scheme to divide the colony into two nearly independent provinces—Ordinance fixing the value of the paper rixdollar at one shilling and sixpence English money—Effects of this measure—Extension of the colony—Creation of the district of Somerset—Occupation of the land between the Fish and Koonap rivers—Establishment of a hospital, a commercial exchange, a public library, and a museum in Capetown, of an observatory near the town, and of a lighthouse at Green Point—Construction of a road through the Drakenstein mountains at the pass behind French Hoek—Arrival of the first steamship in Table Bay—Ecclesiastical and educational matters—Causes of Lord Charles Somerset's unpopularity—Pecuniary difficulties of the colony—Cases of Lieutenant-Colonel Bird and Mr. Bishop Burnett—Events connected with the establishment and suppression of an independent newspaper—Case of Messrs. Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn—Case of William Edwards—Case of Captain Carnall—Abusive placards—Case of Mr. Launcelot Cooke—Case of the reverend William Geary—Return to England of Lord Charles Somerset on leave of absence—Assumption of duty as acting governor by Major-General Richard Bourke—Resignation of his office by Lord Charles Somerset—Proceedings in the house of commons in reference to the complaints against him.

For several years after the general peace which followed the fall of Napoleon much distress was felt by the labouring classes in Great Britain, and emigration was commonly spoken of as the only effectual remedy. The Cape Colony

was everywhere thinly peopled, and in some places was almost without inhabitants. Lord Charles Somerset recommended to the secretary of state that British settlers should be sent out to occupy the Zuurveld, and advised that large tracts of land should be given to men of means, who would employ from thirty to fifty English labourers. The imperial government regarded the matter favourably, and just before parliament was prorogued in 1819 the ministry proposed that a sum of 50,000*l.* should be granted for the purpose of conveying a number of families to this country. The money was voted without demur, and applications for passages were called for.

An offer was made of one hundred acres of ground to each settler of means, and another hundred acres for every male labourer that he should bring out. Groups of not less than ten families possessing a small capital could combine and elect one of themselves to act as their leader and representative with the government, when each family would be entitled to one hundred acres of ground. The land was to be surveyed without charge, it was not to be burdened with taxes during the first ten years, and for five years the settlers were not to be required to pay district rates or assessments. Titles, however, were only to be issued after the ground had been occupied for three years. The imperial government undertook to defray the expense of ocean transit. Each party of one hundred families had the privilege of nominating a clergyman of any denomination of Christians, whose salary in whole or in part would be paid by the colonial government. It was required, however, that for every male adult before leaving Great Britain a sum of 10*l.* should be deposited with the emigration commissioners, which would be returned upon his arrival in the colony either in money, provisions, agricultural implements at cost price, or conveyance from the coast inland.

Applications from heads of parties representing in all nearly ninety thousand individuals were sent in, from which one thousand and thirty-four English families, four hundred and twelve Scotch, one hundred and seventy-four Irish, and

forty-two Welsh were selected. The largest party approved of was one of four hundred Highland Scotch families, under Captain Grant; but most of these people afterwards changed their minds, and did not embark. There were four large English parties: one of one hundred and two families, under Mr. Thomas Wilson, accompanied by the reverend William Boardman, a clergyman of the English episcopal church; one of one hundred families, under Mr. Hezekiah Sephton, accompanied by the reverend William Shaw, a clergyman of the Wesleyan church; one of ninety-six families, under Mr. John Bailie; and one of fifty-five families, under Mr. Thomas Calton. There was an Irish party of seventy-six families, under Mr. William Parker. The others were all groups ranging from ten to forty families. In many instances the women and children remained behind, and did not reach South Africa until several years later.

The first transports—the *Chapman* and *Nautilus*—left Gravesend on the 3rd of December 1819, and arrived together in Table Bay on the 17th of March 1820. They were followed by the *Garland*, *Canada*, *Belle Alliance*, *Brilliant*, *Zoroaster*, *Aurora*, and *Sir George Osborne* from London, the *John*, *Stentor*, and *Albury* from Liverpool, the *Northampton*, *Ocean*, *Weymouth*, and *Duke of Marlborough* from Portsmouth, the *Kennersley Castle* from Bristol, and the *Amphitrite* from Torbay. Altogether—men, women, and children—these ships brought to South Africa three thousand and fifty-three individuals as immigrants.

The large Irish party under Mr. William Parker, and three smaller associations, under Messrs. John Ingram, William Synnot, and Thomas Butler, embarked at Cork in the transports *East Indian* and *Fanny*, and arrived in Simon's Bay on the 30th of April and 1st of May 1820. There were very few individuals in these parties who understood anything about agriculture, most of them having been engaged in occupations connected with commerce. They were accompanied by the reverend Francis McClelland, a clergyman of the English episcopal church.

Mr. Parker wished to settle in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay, where he proposed among other pursuits to establish a large fishery; but the government declined to support his views, and allotted land to the four Irish parties close to the subdrostdy of Clanwilliam. Dissension broke out among these people while they were on the passage, and some of Mr. Parker's party refused to acknowledge him as their leader any longer. The government was unable to restore concord, but after a little pressure one hundred and twenty-three men, with seventy women and one hundred and forty-seven children, were set on shore at Saldanha Bay, and proceeded to Clanwilliam. Under no circumstances could these people have succeeded in making a living from the ground. Some of them even refused to be located with the others anywhere. Most of the men rapidly drifted off to more congenial pursuits than agriculture, after a time a number were removed at their own request to the eastern districts, and by the close of 1823 there were only six families and the clergyman left at Clanwilliam.

Of those who arrived in the various ships from English ports, a few mechanics and labourers remained in Capetown, where employment was offered to them. Four small parties, under Messrs. Charles and Valentine Griffith, Thomas White, and John Neave, were located near the Moravian mission station of Genadendal, in the valley of the river Zonderend. But they did not long remain there. Messrs. Griffith thought they could do better at Groenekloof, on a farm that they leased. Then the others from various causes expressed a wish to settle in Albany, and were sent there by the government before the end of the year.

The remainder of the immigrants were located on the eastern border. Mr. Henry Ellis, who since July 1819 had been deputy colonial secretary, was sent in advance to make preparations for their reception. Captain Moresby, of the ship-of-war *Menai*, offered to assist in landing them at Algoa Bay, and accompanied the first transports to that harbour. After taking in fresh provisions at Capetown or Simonstown, the ships proceeded to Algoa Bay, and on the 10th of April 1820

the debarkation commenced. The last transport did not arrive there until the 25th of June. When her passengers were safe on shore, the number of British settlers landed on the beach below Fort Frederick was one thousand and twenty men, six hundred and seven women, and one thousand and thirty-two children.

Tents were provided by the government for their temporary shelter, and waggons were in readiness to convey them to Albany. With as little delay as possible they were sent forward, and placed on the ground selected for them. Twelve Scotch families under the leadership of Mr. Thomas Pringle had land assigned to them in the valley of the Baviaans' river, all the other immigrants set ashore at Algoa Bay were located between the Bushman's and Fish rivers, the Zuurberg and the sea. Of the money deposited with the emigration commissioners in England, one-third was now returned to the heads of parties, the remainder being kept back until an account of the expenses incurred by the government could be made out.

Under the most favourable circumstances, and supposing every individual capable of manual labour, much suffering must have attended the removal of nearly three thousand people from such a country as Great Britain to a tract of land that had never been tilled. But the greater number of these immigrants were utterly unfit for agricultural pursuits. Among them were several retired military officers, physicians, surgeons, and other gentlemen with slender means, besides a number of clerks and persons previously engaged in different forms of commerce, who came to this country under the belief that with a hundred acres of ground of their own they could employ labour and live in comfort. They were rudely awakened to the fact that the only labour they could depend upon here was that of their own hands. Of those who were accustomed to toil, the majority were mechanics and people who had been employed in factories of different kinds.

On the 29th of April the acting governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, left Capetown to visit the frontier. He found that

the cost of transport of the immigrants from Algoa Bay inland would absorb the whole of the funds still in the hands of the emigration commissioners in England. It was thus evident that, unless aid was afforded by the government, those of the settlers who were without means must shortly be exposed to want. Rations of food were being distributed, nominally to be paid for out of the deposit money, and Sir Rufane ordered the issue to be continued to all who needed them until he could receive instructions from England. He proposed to the secretary of state that the settlers should be relieved from the charge of inland transport, which should be borne by the colonial revenue; and to this Earl Bathurst consented.

The small parties were chiefly located along the Kowie river, and in the centre of their grounds Sir Rufane Donkin selected a site for a village, which he caused to be laid out in building allotments. He named it Bathurst, in honour of the secretary of state, and announced that a magistrate would shortly be stationed there.

On the hill above the landing-place at Algoa Bay the acting governor erected a monument to the memory of his deceased wife. A notice in the *Gazette*, dated the 23rd of June, made known that the rising town upon the shore would bear her name, and henceforth be called Port Elizabeth. On the 25th of the same month Sir Rufane Donkin reached Capetown again.

Upon the withdrawal of the large party of Highland Scotch, the emigration commissioners selected other families in different parts of the kingdom, in number sufficient to absorb the balance of the parliamentary grant for passages. These people embarked in seven transports, of which four arrived towards the close of 1820, and two early in 1821. One was lost by fire at sea. All the families who reached South Africa in these vessels were located in Albany.

At the same time that emigrants were being sent from Great Britain at the expense of the government, a few came to South Africa without any aid, on the assurance of the secretary of state that they would receive larger grants of

land if they paid for their passages. Altogether, nearly five thousand individuals of British birth settled in the colony between March 1820 and May 1821.

On the 18th of October Sir Rufane Donkin issued a proclamation, by which the portion of the district of Uitenhage east of the Bushman's river, together with the tract of land between the Fish and Keiskama rivers, was created a separate district called Albany. Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham was appointed landdrost, and was directed to establish his office in the village of Bathurst. In March 1821 Colonel Graham died, and on the 25th of May Major James Jones was appointed to the vacant place.

In June 1821 Sir Rufane Donkin again visited the eastern frontier. He found the settlers in fairly good spirits, and making much greater progress in cultivating the ground than could have been expected from the previous occupations of most of them. Some had purchased a few working and breeding cattle, and had large gardens, with plenty of vegetables, pigs, and poultry. Throughout South Africa the growing wheat had been attacked by blight in 1820, and had completely failed; but in the west there was abundance of grain left from the exceptionally good crop of 1819, and rations were still supplied to all the settlers that needed them. The health of the emigrants was remarkably good: there was hardly one who was not more robust and hearty than in England. The deaths had not exceeded a dozen, and the births had been over a hundred. Little cottages of unburnt brick or wattled walls and thatched roofs had been built, and provided tolerable shelter from sun and storm.

There was at this time an intention on the part of the military authorities to disband the Royal African corps. Sir Rufane Donkin thought he could utilise it as an advanced guard of the colony, by forming a settlement with it in the lower portion of the vacant country east of the Fish river. It was Lord Charles Somerset's intention to keep the territory between the Fish and Keiskama rivers unoccupied except by soldiers, to have it constantly

patrolled, and thus to prevent depredations by the Kosas and illegal intercourse between the two races. This design was now set aside. Sir Rufane Donkin believed that a much greater number of soldiers would be required to patrol it properly than the imperial government would provide for the purpose, and that if not frequently traversed by military parties it would become a mere lurking-place for robbers. He therefore resolved to fill it with European colonists. But as he was aware that it had been ceded on the understanding that it was to remain unoccupied, he obtained an interview with Gaika, and after a short and friendly discussion that chief consented to his proposal.

On the 13th of June the acting governor offered to each of the officers of the Royal African corps—Captains M. J. Sparks and R. Birch, Lieutenants A. Heddle, W. Cartwright, C. McCombie, and J. P. Sparks, Ensigns A. Matthewson, A. Chisholm, and C. Mackenzie, and Assistant-Surgeon R. Turnbull—two thousand morgen of land between the Beka and Fish rivers, on condition that they should engage among them at least sixty men of the corps, and occupy the ground personally. The soldiers were to be provided with rations by the government for nine months, and after three years' service each was to receive a free grant of at least one hundred acres of ground. On the same conditions Mr. Benjamin Moodie, who brought out the Scotch mechanics in 1817, and who was then residing at Grootvadersbosch near the confluence of the Breede and Buffeljagts rivers, was offered grants of land in the same territory for himself and his two brothers, Donald and John Dunbar Moodie, retired lieutenants of the navy and army, who had recently arrived in the colony. The officers of the Royal African corps and Messrs. Moodie accepted the conditions, and took possession of the ground with more than the number of men required. A village was laid out, which Sir Rufane Donkin named Fredericksburg in honour of the duke of York. A military post was formed close by, and was occupied by a detachment of the Cape corps.

Earlier in the year it was the acting governor's intention

to locate the large party of Scotch emigrants in the valleys at the sources of the Kat river, and the ground there was surveyed for their reception, but most of them changed their minds and remained in Scotland. The transport *Abeona*, in which the others left the Clyde in September 1820, was lost by fire at sea, and, though the passengers escaped with their lives, only two out of thirty families on board ever reached South Africa.

In another matter Sir Rufane Donkin disturbed Lord Charles Somerset's plans in the territory east of the Fish river, and in a way most offensive to military pride. The acting governor found on the right bank of the Keiskama a fort with five bastions partly built, named Fort Willshire. He stopped the work, giving as a reason that the structure was much too expensive for the requirements of a frontier post; and in its stead he caused a square stone barrack to be put up close to the stream.

On the 30th of November 1821 Lord Charles Somerset reached South Africa again in the ship-of-war *Hyperion*. Just before he left England he married a daughter of Earl Poulett, a lady of very engaging manners and disposition, and she accompanied him on his return to the colony.

He landed in no friendly frame of mind towards Sir Rufane Donkin, who had overturned his frontier policy, offended his military pride, and quarrelled with his son. In October 1819 Captain Henry Somerset was appointed acting deputy landdrost of Uitenhage during the absence on leave of Major Fraser, and to a considerable extent the task of locating the British settlers in Albany and providing for their wants was performed by him. The manner in which he carried out his duty won the regard of the immigrants, so that it was felt by himself and his friends as a slight when the seat of magistracy was removed from Grahams-town to Bathurst and he was superseded. Some time afterwards an opportunity offered to insult the acting governor, and Captain Somerset took advantage of it. Though he was certainly to blame, his father supported him in his conduct, and participated in his resentment. The consequence

of all this was that Lord Charles Somerset on his return declined to meet Sir Rufane Donkin except in the colonial secretary's office, and as he entered government house by one door the late occupant left it by another. Sir Rufane Donkin returned to England without an interview with Lord Charles, and was soon actively engaged in bringing the faults of the Cape government to notice.

At this time the colony was in a state of great depression. After 1815 the island of St. Helena afforded an excellent market for Cape produce, as all the meat, flour, peas, beans, dried fruit, brandy, and common wine required for the large garrison and the ships of war maintained for the purpose of guarding the captive emperor Napoleon were procured here. But upon the death of Napoleon, the naval and military establishment at St. Helena was withdrawn, and that market for produce disappeared. The wheat crop in 1821 was again destroyed by blight. The paper money had sunk in value until only one shilling and nine pence could be had in exchange for a cartoon rixdollar. The revenue was falling off, and there were new and peremptory demands upon it.

The first acts of the governor caused some alarm among the British settlers. He dismissed Major Jones, on the 7th of December appointed Mr. Harry Rivers landdrost of Albany, and moved the office from Bathurst back to Grahamstown. This was very unsatisfactory to all who had ground near Bathurst, though it was indisputable that Grahamstown was in every respect a better situation, especially as it was the head quarters of the troops on the frontier. Then the military post close to Fredericksburg was withdrawn, with the result that the settlers there were obliged to remove.

As for Fort Willshire, the governor caused an examination to be made by a competent engineer officer, who sent in a report that Sir Rufane Donkin's barrack cost more money than would have been required for the completion of the original structure, that the position of the barrack was bad in a military point of view, as it was commanded by

rifles from high ground on the other side of the river, and that it was too low and confined for the health and comfort of the garrison.

The year 1822 opened gloomily upon the British settlers. The blight in the wheat crop ruined the hopes of all. Those who had means saw no other prospect than that of losing what they still possessed, and those who had nothing saw starvation before them in the near future. To all who were without property the colonial government distributed full rations to the 30th of September 1821, and half rations after that date. But this could not be continued much longer. The accounts showed that the cost of these supplies of food to the end of 1821 exceeded by 19,950*l.* the money remaining with the emigration commissioners in England in the names of those to whom the rations were furnished.¹ The revenue could not bear such a charge. Owing to the blight, grain was being imported even into the western districts, and the most that could be done was to send to Albany a quantity of rice to avert actual starvation.

In their distress the settlers attributed many of the evils from which they were suffering to the arbitrary conduct of the governor, and drew a sharp comparison between the coldness of their treatment by him and the sympathy which Sir Rufane Donkin had always expressed for them. They proposed to hold meetings to discuss political matters, but were met by a proclamation, issued by Lord Charles on the 24th of May 1822, declaring such meetings illegal, subjecting persons attending them to severe punishment, and announcing that he had instructed the local authorities to arrest and bring to trial any persons who should disregard this warning. He declared at the same time that he would take every opportunity of redressing real grievances and of promoting the general and individual welfare of the settlers,

¹ When the accounts were finally closed a couple of years after this date, the total expense incurred for the British settlers in rations and transport from the coast inland, over and above the balance of the deposit money in England, was ascertained to be 30,811*l.* Of this amount the imperial government repaid 18,853*l.*, leaving only 11,958*l.* as a charge upon the colonial revenue.

but that it was his firm determination to put down all attempts to disturb the public peace, either by inflammatory or libellous writings or by any other measures. The settlers did not venture to defy the government, and so no meetings were held; but from this date complaints of the tyranny to which they were subjected were constantly sent to England, and attracted much attention there.

With the stoppage of rations the settlers began to disperse in search of means to procure a living. Many of them would have done so before, had it not been for the desire to remain three years on their locations, in order to get title-deeds and then sell the ground. A number of mechanics moved to Grahamstown, where the presence of the troops and the establishment of several mercantile firms created a demand for their labour. Others proceeded to Capetown, Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, Graaff-Reinet, and Cradock, where they were able to find employment. A few set the laws at defiance, and went into Kaffirland as traders and elephant hunters.

In 1821 an annual fair was established at Fort Willshire, at which, under supervision of government officials, the Kosas could obtain anything they wanted, except spirituous liquors and munitions of war. Licensed traders repaired to the ground adjoining the fort with waggons laden with goods. In the morning of the day appointed for the fair the Kosas were permitted to cross the Keiskama in parties under their chiefs, with their women carrying ivory, hides, and gum. The traders then made presents to the chiefs, and between them they fixed the relative value of everything to be bartered, before the common people were allowed to have any dealings. When these preliminaries were concluded, trade commenced, the chiefs keeping order among their followers and taking usually as a sort of tax about half of what each one purchased.

But this could only meet to a very limited extent the desire for traffic, and now adventurers began to make their way far into Kaffirland, where an ox could be obtained for a few strings of beads or a crown's worth of bangles. Very

stringent regulations were issued by the government against this trade, and all unauthorised persons were forbidden to cross the Fish river under severe penalties; but to no purpose. The annual fair at Fort Willshire was rapidly turned into a quarterly fair, then into a monthly fair, and next into a weekly market, under official supervision. Still, the illicit commerce was not checked. The gains were so large that the number of persons engaged in it constantly increased, and in the course of a few years many of them acquired a considerable amount of wealth. Traffic of this nature was demoralising, but the government attempted to enforce the restrictive system until the close of 1830, when traders were freely licensed to enter Kaffirland.

Owing to these causes, in May 1823 there were only four hundred and thirty-eight adult male settlers left on the ground assigned to them. These were mostly men of some means, or such as were accustomed to till the ground for a maintenance. Their chief complaint was want of labourers. At the very time that nearly a thousand white men—drawn from English towns and factories—were abandoning their locations through fear of starvation if they remained upon them, there was a constant demand for working people on farms, and high wages were offered in vain. The settlers were restricted from employing slaves, and after 1820, by Earl Bathurst's order, a condition in all grants of land in the eastern portion of the colony was that the ground should be cultivated by free labourers alone. The extent of the demand was shown at a little later date by a fruitless effort that was made to induce the imperial government to assist working people to come to the colony. A list of persons who guaranteed to provide employment for three years was made out, and showed a want of seven hundred and eighty labourers—men, women, and serviceable boys and girls—to whom wages were offered averaging twenty shillings a month, together with food and lodging.

In the western districts, especially in Capetown, there was the same want of working people. As a commercial speculation, Mr. John Ingram, head of one of the Irish

parties, returned to England, and in February 1823 entered into an arrangement with Earl Bathurst. Mr. Ingram undertook to bring out at his own expense fifty labourers, and Earl Bathurst undertook to advance on certain conditions the passage money for any others, not exceeding two hundred men, fifty women, and one hundred children. They were all to be apprenticed for three years to Mr. Ingram, who was to have the right of selling the indentures. Under this arrangement working people were engaged in Ireland. They embarked at Cork, and in the winter of 1823 arrived safely at Capetown to the number of one hundred and eighty-eight men, fifty-nine women, and one hundred and five children. A few of them turned out badly, but the only difficulty with the great majority was that they soon raised themselves above the rank of servants, and then by competing with those who had employed them increased the demand for people of their former class.

By direction of Earl Bathurst, on the 12th of July 1822 a proclamation was issued by Lord Charles Somerset, granting to natural-born subjects of the United Kingdom settling in the colony, and married before their arrival, the right of devising property according to the English laws of inheritance. But if they married in the colony, without an antenuptial contract, they became subject to the colonial law, which gives to husband and wife equal rights, and at that time permitted testamentary disposition of only a portion of the property of either man or woman, unless there were no natural heirs. The law of inheritance in cases where no will was made was not affected by the proclamation of July 1822, property of people born and married in Great Britain and dying intestate in the colony being divided equally among the children.

Early in October 1823 the eastern districts were devastated by a flood such as had never before been known in that part of the colony. For days together rain fell as in ordinary thunderstorms, every rill became a foaming torrent, and the rivers, overflowing their banks, rolled down to the sea in great volumes of discoloured water. The British

settlers who still remained on their locations in Albany, having never experienced anything of the kind before, had built their cottages and made their gardens on the low-lying lands along the streamlets which course through the district. When the flood came, cottages, gardens, orchards, and corn-fields were all swept away. Many of the poor people escaped with nothing but their lives and the clothing they had on. In some places even the ground loosened by the plough or the spade disappeared, leaving the barren subsoil bare.

By this misfortune many families were reduced to the last stage of distress. In 1820 a few charitable persons united in a relief committee to assist sick and infirm immigrants, and about 600*l.* was collected and distributed; but as the need for aid increased, a society was formed in Cape-town purposely to receive and disburse subscriptions to what was called the settlers' fund. This society was still in existence, and there was a small amount of money available for immediate use. An appeal for help was made to the benevolent in England and in India, and in course of time a sum of about 10,000*l.* was collected in different parts of the world, which was laid out in relieving the unfortunate people.

The tide of adversity against which the settlers who remained on the locations had struggled so long now turned. Experience had taught them what could be cultivated to advantage, and they had come to know that cattle-breeding was the most profitable branch of their industry. Early in 1825 Lord Charles Somerset visited Albany, and greatly enlarged the plots of land occupied by those who were engaged in farming, by adding to them the ground abandoned by the other immigrants.

The colony had recently been invaded by a number of starving Betshuana, who had escaped when their tribes were destroyed in the wars of extermination then carried on by different divisions of Bantu in the territory between the Orange and Limpopo rivers. The government provided for some of these refugees, by having them apprenticed for seven years to such settlers as needed their services. They could

only perform the roughest kind of labour, but as cattle-herds they were very useful, and their maintenance cost but little. To some extent, therefore, they supplied the most pressing want of the Albany farmers.

Mr. Rivers, having become very unpopular with the British settlers, in January 1825 the governor removed him to Swellendam, and appointed in his stead as landdrost of Albany Captain William Bolden Dundas, of the royal artillery.

In this tour the governor visited the mouth of the Kowie river, which at the request of the residents in the neighbourhood he named Port Frances, in honour of the wife of his son, Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset. Here he stationed Lieutenant Donald Moodie as magistrate, with a salary of 90*l.* a year. Ever since the 9th of November 1821, when for the first time the Kowie river was entered by a vessel—the little coasting schooner *Elizabeth*, belonging to Mr. Henry Nourse,—great hopes were entertained by the settlers that this port would quickly become a place of large trade; but these hopes were never realised.

At Port Elizabeth the governor directed Captain Evatt, commandant at Fort Frederick, to act as resident magistrate, and allowed him the same salary as Lieutenant Moodie. The powers of these magistrates were defined in a proclamation issued on the 8th of April, after the governor's return to Capetown. They could try civil cases under the value of 7*l.* 10*s.*, and in criminal cases could sentence to six months' imprisonment or a fine of 7*l.* 10*s.* Their jurisdiction was limited to the townships.

Port Elizabeth was at this time rapidly becoming a place of importance, though it was as yet only frequented by coasting vessels. In July 1826 customhouses were first established here and at Port Frances, and direct trade with England commenced.

It was considered advisable by the imperial authorities that the English language should as soon as possible supersede the Dutch in South Africa, and by order of Earl Bathurst a proclamation was issued by Lord Charles

Somerset on the 5th of July 1822, announcing that after the 1st of January 1823 all documents issued from the office of the secretary to government would be in English; after six months all other official acts and documents would be either in English or Dutch, and after the 1st of January 1825 in English exclusively; and that after two years English and Dutch would be indiscriminately used in judicial acts and proceedings until the 1st of January 1827, when English alone would be used. On the 30th of January 1824 another proclamation was issued, announcing that the English language would be exclusively used in judicial acts and proceedings in the district of Albany after the 1st of March of that year. The period first named was also shortened for the district of Simonstown, where Dutch was seldom spoken.

So far as Albany and Simonstown were concerned, no objection was raised by any one to the exclusive use of the English language in the courts of law; but in the other districts, where Dutch was spoken by the great majority of the people, it was regarded as a very serious grievance. Many representations were made on the subject, at first without success; but at length, on the 13th of December 1826, that part of the proclamation of the 5th of July 1822 which referred to courts of justice was withdrawn, and until 1828 it remained lawful to use either Dutch or English in judicial proceedings. In all other respects the proclamation was enforced, and after the dates named English became the official language of the colony, with the exception that important notices were published in the *Gazette* in both languages.

So many complaints of the arbitrary nature of Lord Charles Somerset's government reached England that the ministry found it expedient to prevent discussion in the house of commons, by sending out a commission of inquiry. There were several subjects upon which the most accurate knowledge was desired by the imperial authorities, and concerning which there was no intention to conceal the slightest detail. But it was very doubtful whether the ministers ever really meant to supply the information on other questions which members of the opposition wanted; at any rate, the

voluminous reports of the commissioners may be searched for it in vain.

On the 25th of July 1822 an address to the crown was presented by the commons, which resulted in the appointment of Major William Macbean George Colebrooke and Mr. John Thomas Bigge as commissioners for inquiring into the state of the colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, and Ceylon. On the 12th of July 1823 these gentlemen with their secretary, Mr. John Gregory, arrived in Simon's Bay in the ship *Lady Campbell*, and on the 24th of the same month they entered upon their duties. For more than three years they were engaged in making investigations into the form of government, the state of the finances, the condition of the coloured people, the administration of justice, and other matters. The results of their inquiries were embodied in long reports, some of which were not completed until 1830.

In all matters connected with the revenue and with trade these reports were exhaustive, and were compiled with great care; but upon other subjects they gave no satisfaction to any class of colonists. Some questions, believed in South Africa to be of paramount importance, were ignored altogether; and some were very inaccurately represented. The commissioners, indeed, carried on their investigations of official documents through the governor, to whom an application was formally made for every paper that they wanted to see. They were the governor's guests during a large portion of the time that they spent in Capetown. And the mouths of the civil servants were effectually stopped, for it was well understood that any one who should venture to make disclosures of circumstances relating to his department, without previously communicating with the governor, was liable to dismissal from office.

The commissioners did not take the trouble to learn the Dutch language, in which all the old records were written; and they were too ready to adopt statements made by others, without investigating them properly.¹ They had no power

¹ For instance, in Mr. Bigge's report upon the Hottentots, the following paragraph is found: 'The removal of the native inhabitants from the lands

to make changes, but they were instructed to recommend to the secretary of state such alterations in the government as they might think advisable. Most of their recommendations were adopted, and will be referred to in another chapter; at present two only require to be mentioned.

The first was the creation of a council to assist and advise the governor upon every occasion of importance. On the 9th of February 1825 the sanction of the king was obtained, and the requisite order was issued. The council was to consist of six members, three of whom—the chief justice, the secretary to government, and the military officer next in rank to the governor—were to have seats by virtue of their offices. The other three named by Earl Bathurst were Lieutenant-Colonel John Bell, who was deputy quartermaster-general to the troops, Mr. Walter Bentinck, who was auditor-general, and Mr. Joachim Willem Stoll, who was treasurer and receiver-general. The governor was instructed to submit to the council all ordinances, public orders, and proclamations; but if he saw good reason, he could act in opposition to the opinion of a majority of the members. No question was to be discussed in the council unless proposed by the governor, who was to preside at the meetings, and who could dismiss any member if necessity arose for so doing. The meetings were to be held with closed doors, and the members were to be sworn not to divulge anything that came before them. The governor and two members were to form a quorum. A clerk of the council was appointed by the secretary of state, with a salary of 800*l.* a year. The first meeting of the council thus constituted took place on the 2nd of May 1825, and it marks a step—

which they had occupied was not the only consequence of the progress made by the Dutch settlers. It was deemed expedient to correct the wandering habits of the Hottentots, and by a resolution of the local government, passed in the year 1787, they were prohibited from changing their places of abode, and were required to furnish themselves with passes. In point of fact, the resolution of the council of policy here referred to was directed solely and in express terms against Hottentot women of abandoned character in Capetown and a gang of Hottentot pilferers who lived on the Cape flats; and its tenor regarding all other people of that race is in direct opposition to the assertion in the commissioner's report.

though a short one—in the direction from pure despotism to the present form of government.

Another recommendation of the commissioners of inquiry which was adopted by the ministry of the earl of Liverpool was that the colony should be divided into two provinces of nearly equal extent. It was intended that the eastern province should have a distinct government, with a council of its own.

On the 20th of August 1825 Earl Bathurst announced to Lord Charles Somerset that Major-General Richard Bourke had been appointed lieutenant-governor, with a salary of 3,500*l.* a year, that he would shortly proceed to the Cape in order to assume the administration of the eastern province as soon as it should be formed into a separate government, and that he would carry out his duties in direct communication with the secretary of state. Lord Charles Somerset was to remain governor in chief, and was to retain military command over the whole country; but was to conduct the civil administration of the western province only. Upon any extraordinary occasion, however, or in the event of any peculiar emergency arising, the governor in chief was to have power to proceed to the eastern province, and was to have control of all matters as long as he should remain there, the functions of the lieutenant-governor being for the time suspended; but it was to be clearly understood that nothing short of the most urgent necessity would justify such action.

This resolution could not be carried out as soon as Earl Bathurst intended, because early in 1826 Lord Charles Somerset left the colony to visit England. In April 1827 Mr. Canning succeeded the earl of Liverpool as prime minister, and Viscount Goderich took Earl Bathurst's place. The new ministers, who were not biassed by the personal motives¹ which may have influenced their predecessors in approving of the division of the colony into two provinces

¹ To retain Lord Charles Somerset's services and thus avoid offending the Beaufort family, and at the same time to pacify the British settlers and stop the complaints continually reaching England.

nearly independent of each other, considered that such a system of government would be much too expensive. On the 14th of June 1827 a despatch was written by the secretary of state, announcing that the design was abandoned.

The greatest impediment to the prosperity of the colony at this period was the existence of the paper money, which rested upon no other security than the public buildings and the lands reserved in olden times for the use of the government. That this security was of no practical value was evident. For instance, in 1807 one of the government estates, the tract of land in the Cape district known as Groenekloof, was divided into farms, of which twenty-six were leased for a term of years; and in 1814 another, the tract of land in the Swellendam district known as the Ziekenhuis estate, was divided into fourteen farms, of which thirteen were sold outright and one—Sweetmilk Valley—leased for twenty-one years; in both cases without any reduction of the paper money. It was plain that neither the castle and the forts could be sold, nor government house and the public offices.

There was no metallic coin in circulation. Some was indeed brought into the country by shipping, and from 1806 to 1816 its exportation was prohibited under severe penalties; but, as it was found impossible to enforce the law, on the 10th of May 1816 Lord Charles Somerset issued a proclamation permitting gold and silver to be sent out of the country. The brokers after this sold metallic coin to merchants who needed it for remittances to England or other countries at rates varying from two shillings and two pence in 1816 to one shilling and six pence in 1825 for a paper rixdollar. When money was needed by officers of the imperial government for the payment of the troops or other purposes, treasury bills were offered for sale by tender, and were purchased at nearly the same rates. Thus a note which professed to have the purchasing power of an English sovereign in 1825 was in reality worth no more than seven shillings and six pence.

Under such circumstances it would have been necessary for the colonial authorities to adopt some means of getting

rid of the paper before any improvement in the country could be made, had not the imperial government taken the matter into consideration as part of a measure for introducing British coinage into British possessions throughout the world, and thus having a uniform currency. After investigation by the lords of the treasury, an order in council was issued that a tender or payment of one shilling and six pence in British silver money should be equivalent to a tender or payment of one paper rixdollar at the Cape of Good Hope.

The imperial government resolved to advance an amount of money to the Cape Colony to redeem a portion of the paper, and instructions were sent to Lord Charles Somerset to carry out the design. On the 6th of June 1825 an ordinance was issued by the governor in council, making British silver money a legal tender in discharge of all debts due by and to individuals at one shilling and six pence sterling for each paper rixdollar, and announcing that from the 1st of January 1826 the public accounts would be kept in British money. Silver and copper coin to the amount of 56,000*l.* was sent from England and issued to the troops during the next eighteen months, and it was notified that the officer in charge of the commissariat would issue bills upon England to any amount in exchange for either silver money or paper rixdollars at one shilling and six pence, charging three per cent for freight and insurance.

The amount of paper that should have been in circulation was rather more than three million rixdollars. There had been—

Issued by the Dutch East India Company to meet current expenses	rds. 618,910
Created by the Dutch East India Company as capital for the loan bank	677,365
Issued by the English administration from 1795 to 1803, and accounted for to the Batavian government, but never redeemed	330,000
Carry forward	rds. 1,621,275

<i>Brought forward</i>	rds. 1,621,275
Created by the English administration from 1795 to 1808 as additional capital for the loan bank	165,000
Issued by the Batavian administration from 1808 to 1806 to meet current expenses	297,090
Added by the Batavian administration to the capital of the loan bank, to make even money	2,685
Issued by the English administration after 1806, partly as a fund to establish a granary, but chiefly to erect public buildings	583,197
Created by the English administration after 1806 as additional capital for the loan bank	500,000
	rds. 3,169,197

Of this amount sixty-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-two rixdollars had been cancelled before the 6th of June 1825, and a sum of forty thousand two hundred and fifty-five rixdollars, received as interest on loans, instead of being transferred to the colonial revenue or cancelled, was added to the capital of the bank, so that when the ordinance was issued the accounts stood as follows :

Capital of loan and discount bank, secured by mortgages and pledges of various kinds	rds. 1,385,255
Debt	1,713,950
	rds. 3,099,205

At one shilling and six pence to the rixdollar the paper in circulation ought thus to have been equal to 232,440*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* But a few years later an excess was discovered to the extent of four hundred and eighty-seven thousand eight hundred and fifty-one rixdollars, and as there was a frequent exchange by the government of new for old and defaced notes, it was not possible to ascertain when or by whom the forged paper was issued. There was no remedy, so it was of

necessity added to the public debt. The paper actually in circulation amounted therefore to three million five hundred and eighty-seven thousand and fifty-six rixdollars, or 269,029*l.* 4*s.* sterling.

The ordinance affected people in various ways. All who owed money to the bank and to individuals, and all whose taxes—especially quitrents—were fixed in rixdollars, were jubilant. But persons who had brought British money to the country and invested it, those to whom money was due, those whose incomes were fixed in rixdollars, the orphan chamber, and all others to whom a rise in the rate of exchange would have been advantageous, believed themselves to be greatly wronged. A petition to the king in council was prepared, and received two thousand one hundred and fifteen signatures, praying that the ordinance might be withdrawn or a higher rate of exchange fixed. The orphan masters represented that the property which they administered was of greater value than the whole paper in circulation, that much of it had been for many years in their care, and that a large number of their wards would be ruined. The petitioners regarded the commercial rate of exchange in Capetown as fallacious when applied to the whole colony, and pointed out that since the issue of the paper, land, cattle, and wheat had not altered their proportional value in rixdollars to anything like the extent of eight to three. But there was great difference of opinion as to what the paper rixdollar should be redeemed at. Some would be satisfied with nothing less than four shillings, others thought two shillings would be a fair rate.

The agitation in Capetown was so great that on the 28th of June Lord Charles Somerset issued an advertisement that any person could obtain paper money at the bank or at the various offices of the landdrosts throughout the country for any sum exceeding one hundred rixdollars in exchange for British silver at the same rate as that at which they were obliged to receive silver from their debtors. The final decision of the imperial authorities was then awaited with much anxiety. On the 13th of May 1826 the lords of the



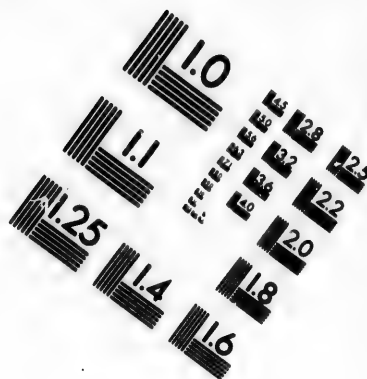
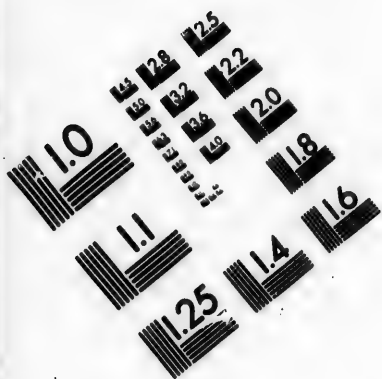
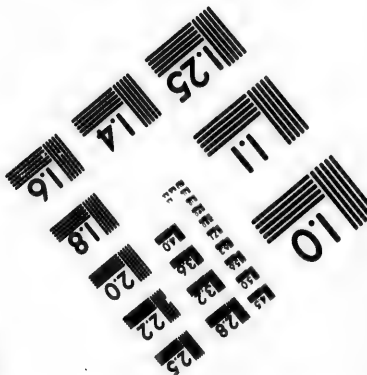
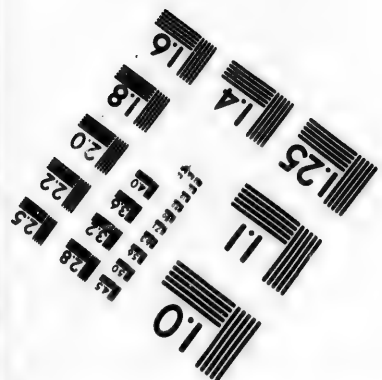
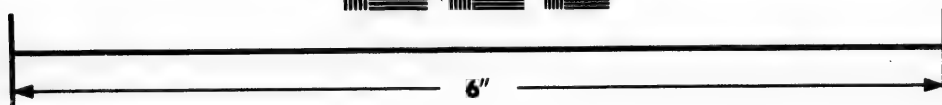
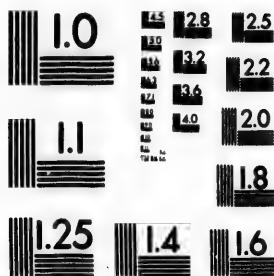


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)



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treasury pronounced against any alteration in the rate of exchange, and thus it remained at one shilling and six pence to the rixdollar. Many individuals lost heavily by it, but the colony gained by the security given to the paper money even at only three-eighths of its former nominal value.

In a short time the charge of three per cent. upon treasury bills was reduced to one-half per cent., and notes to the amount of one million two hundred and thirty-seven thousand rixdollars were exchanged. This was equivalent to a loan of 92,775*l.* without interest by Great Britain. The remaining paper in circulation was then gradually replaced by notes stamped in England, on which the value was marked in pounds sterling, and security was given by their being made exchangeable for treasury bills at par on presentation at the commissariat office.

Without any formal proclamation, the northern boundary of the colony was greatly extended during the government of Lord Charles Somerset. Farmers had land assigned to them in the vacant country beyond the old line, and the government followed them, just as in the days of the Dutch East India Company. When the district of Beaufort was created, its limits were so defined as to include a large tract of land north of the Zak river. In September 1820 Landdrost Stockenstrom, of Graaff-Reinet, recommended to the government that the Orange as far down as the junction of the Seacow river, and thence the desert country extending to the Atlantic ocean, should be declared the northern boundary; and he advised that a commission should be sent to inspect that line and prepare a map.

On the 25th of April 1821, in a reply from the colonial office Landdrost Stockenstrom was informed that his recommendation of a commission to inspect the country was approved of; and by the directions given for the location of applicants for farms the Orange down to the junction of the Seacow river was practically made the boundary, though it was not formally so declared. Shortly after this, Sir Rufane Donkin visited the drostdy of Graaff-Reinet, and left

a memorandum, dated the 20th of June 1821, in which he expressed an opinion that the proposed line should be adopted, but that it ought to be carefully inspected by the landdrost and an engineer officer before a proclamation was issued.

On the 17th of January 1822 Lieutenant Bonamy, of the 6th regiment of infantry, was attached to the engineer department, and was directed to proceed to Graaff-Reinet, to aid the landdrost in the inspection of a north-eastern and northern boundary line, and to frame a map of that part of the colony. These instructions were acted upon without the least delay. In March of the same year Messrs. Bonamy and Stockenstrom reported that they had fixed upon the Zwart Kei and Klaas Smit's rivers and the Stormberg spruit on the north-east. On the north they had inspected the Orange from the junction of the Stormberg spruit to a little below the junction of the Seacow river. Having proceeded so far, Landdrost Stockenstrom found himself obliged to return to the drostdy; so Lieutenant Bonamy was left to make a rough survey of the country they had gone over so rapidly, and to frame a map of it, after which the inspection farther westward would be resumed.

In August 1824 Messrs. Bonamy and Stockenstrom completed their inspection from the point where they had left off seventeen months before. The names of the various ridges which they recommended as the new boundary have nearly all been changed in recent years, but the line followed the Orange river about as far down as to longitude $24^{\circ} 20'$, then it turned in a direction almost straight to the Pramberg, and thence it formed an irregular curve cutting the junction of the Zak and Riet rivers and continuing to the mouth of the Buffalo river on the shore of the Atlantic.

On the 9th of September 1824 the boundary thus fixed upon was approved of in a letter from the colonial office to the landdrost, and though it was never formally proclaimed, the government thereafter exercised full control within it.

Between 1819 and 1825 several military officers were engaged upon a rough survey of the colony, under direction

of Major Holloway, of the royal engineers. Including the work of Lieutenant Bonamy, about ten thousand square miles were completed, at a cost to the colony of only 1,100*l.*, but the survey was then stopped for want of funds.

In October 1822 Lord Charles Somerset abolished the subdrostdy of Caledon, and transferred the duties to the officials of Swellendam. At the same time, on the plea that the public buildings at Tulbagh were irreparably damaged by a great storm in the preceding month of July, he abolished the subdrostdy of Worcester, and removed the landdrost of Tulbagh to that village. In truth, however, the principal building at Tulbagh was hardly damaged at all, and it is standing to the present day. But Worcester was a creation of the governor's, and he desired to see it prosper. In January 1823 the large building still used as public offices and a dwelling-house for the magistrate was commenced. On the 8th of November 1822 a notice was issued changing the name of the district from Tulbagh to Worcester, and on the 5th of March 1824 that portion west of a line from the end of Piketberg to Verloren Vlei was cut off and added to the district of the Cape.

On the 11th of March 1825 the subdrostdy of Cradock was abolished, and a new district named Somerset was created. It comprised the territory from the Orange river on the north to the Zuurberg on the south, and from the Sunday and Little Riet rivers on the west to the Koonap, Zwart Kei, and Stormberg Spruit on the east. This included a portion of the land ceded by Gaika in 1819. On the 31st of March, Mr. William Mackay, who in January 1824 had succeeded Captain Harding as deputy landdrost at Cradock, was appointed landdrost of the new district. The subordinate officials at Cradock were also removed to the Somerset farm at the Boschberg, where the existing buildings were easily converted into offices and dwelling-houses. The farm itself was no longer needed, for the provisions required by the troops on the frontier could now be procured by contract as easily and cheaply as they could be grown. The establishment was therefore broken up. A village was

ons of the colony in 1828.



Stanford's Geogr. Retail London.

Map XI. This map shows

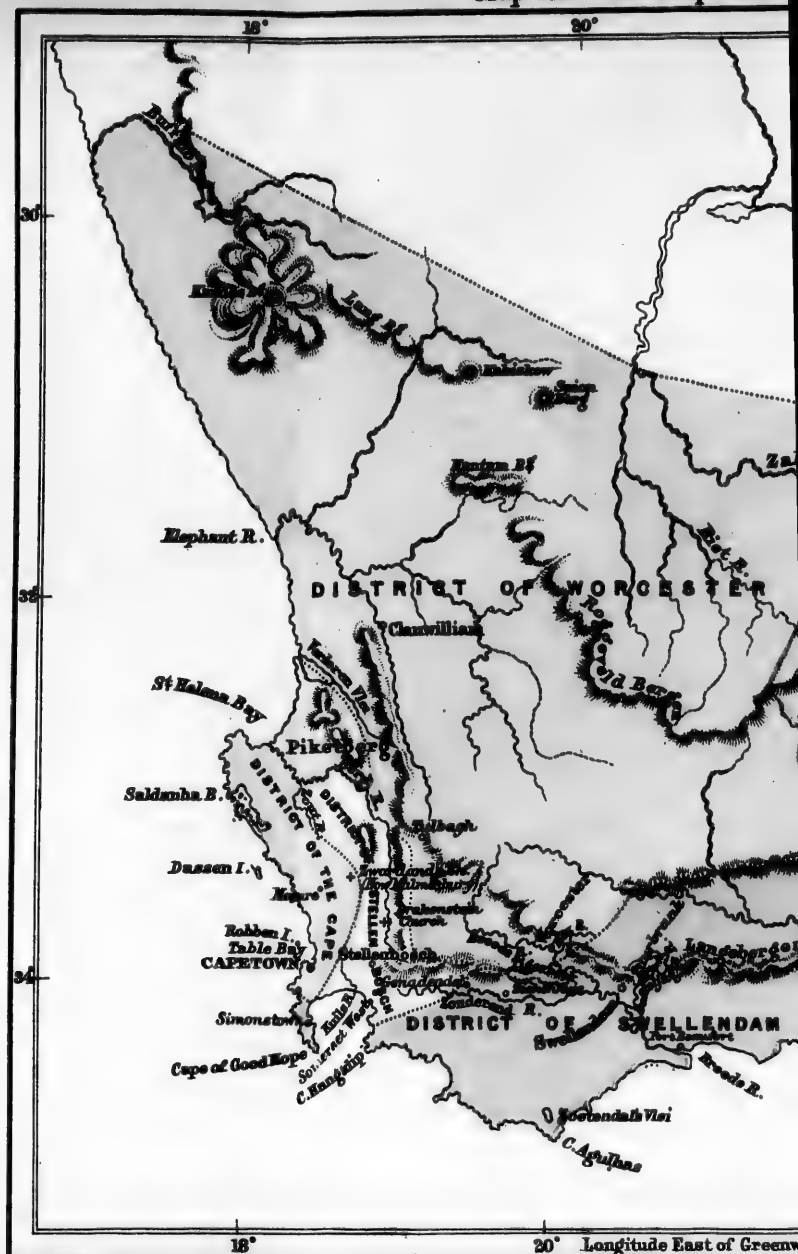
The places where there were courts
of law were

Centres of Districts

Sub-drostdy . . .

Police and petty
civil court.

Capetown,
Stellenbosch,
Swellendam,
Graaff-Reinet,
Uitenhage,
Simonstown,
George,
Grahamstown,
Beaufort West,
Worcester,
Somerset East.
Clanwilliam.
Port Elizabeth,
Port Frances.



This is a detailed map of the Cape Colony, showing its various districts: Worcester, Beaufort, George, Graaff-Reinet, Somerset, and Albany. The map includes major rivers like the Orange, Tzitzis, and Breijer, and coastal features like the Agulhas and Saldanha Bays. It also shows the locations of several towns and forts, such as Fort Beaufort and Fort Albany. A scale bar at the bottom indicates distances in English miles, and the map is framed by latitude and longitude coordinates.

Stanford's Geogr. Instab. London.

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laid out on the ground that had been under cultivation, and on the 13th and 14th of April eighty-three erven, each one hundred and fifty by four hundred and fifty feet in size, were sold by auction at an average price of 46*l*. The village was named Somerset East.

The object of Lord Charles Somerset in extending the district to the Koonap was to strengthen the frontier colonists against Kaffir marauders, by placing there a strong body of men accustomed to border warfare, as the military force in the colony had been greatly reduced in recent years. For this reason nearly all the grants of land in the previously unoccupied territory were to members of old South African families. This measure gave great offence to those persons in England who believed that the Dutch colonists were habitual oppressors of coloured people, and through their influence Earl Bathurst wrote disapproving of such a settlement of the territory, as in his opinion it might be the means of extending slavery. When the dispatch arrived, forty-six families had built houses and cultivated plots of ground, and seventy-four families were grazing cattle on their grants, but had not yet commenced to build. They were called upon to withdraw, and the graziers obeyed, but the others begged for time to gather their crops. This was conceded, and such representations were made to the secretary of state that in 1827 all who would sign an agreement not to employ slave labour were permitted to retain their grants.

The period from 1820 to 1825 was one of commercial and agricultural depression, of distress not only among the recent British immigrants but among the old colonists, and of anxiety to everyone in possession of property. Still, it was marked by several improvements.

In 1817 Dr. Samuel Bailey, who was then practising medicine in Capetown, made a proposal to the burgher senate to establish a hospital for merchant seamen, slaves, and poor people generally, on conditions which would make it partly a private and partly a public institution. The proposal was accepted, and the governor's approval having been obtained, a building was commenced. The burgher

senate contributed a portion of the money required, on condition of having the right at any time to take over the institution at a fair valuation. In 1818 the hospital was opened. For about two years Dr. Bailey conducted it on his own account, when his resources being found insufficient for its proper maintenance, the burgher senate took possession of the building, and paid him 4,500*l.* for his interest in it. The institution has ever since been in existence, though in recent years used only for certain chronic and mental diseases. It is now known as the old Somerset hospital.

In 1819 the merchants of Capetown combined to establish a commercial exchange, and for the erection and management of the building chose a committee consisting of Messrs. Abraham Faure, Stephen Twycross, Andries Brink, John Bardwell Ebdon, Antonio Chiappini, John Collison, and Daniel Dixon. The capital was raised in one hundred and fifty-eight shares of 37*l.* 10*s.* each, of which the government took twenty-five. On the 25th of August 1819 the north-eastern corner stone of the large building on the parade ground, which is still in use, was laid by Lord Charles Somerset with much ceremony, a great number of people being present. The troops were drawn up, the regimental bands were in attendance, and a salute was fired from the castle. After the stone was laid, the governor, the principal civil and military officers, and about two hundred of the leading people of the town and suburbs sat down to tiffin in a huge temporary tent erected close by. The hall was opened for use in 1821.

In March 1818 Lord Charles Somerset imposed a tax of one rixdollar upon every cask of wine and spirits entering Capetown, as a fee for gauging, and announced that the proceeds would be devoted to the establishment and maintenance of a public library. As the money was received by the collector, it was deposited in the bank to the credit of a committee consisting of the colonial secretary, the chief justice, the fiscal, and the senior ministers of the Dutch reformed, Lutheran, and English episcopal churches. The committee purchased books, and made the necessary

arrangements for the opening and management of the institution.

There was a portion of the old slave lodge that had not yet been converted into public offices, and the governor gave the committee permission to make use of it. In September 1820 a loan of thirteen thousand seven hundred rixdollars was obtained without interest from what was termed the private fund of the orphan chamber, and the money was devoted to rebuilding and repairing the apartments. Practically this loan was equivalent to a grant. From very early times funds had accumulated in the orphan chamber from interest not being drawn by heirs when due, and in its turn producing interest again. This money was regarded as a reserve fund affording the most ample security to persons whose estates were under control of the orphan chamber; and as it was constantly increasing, various sums were lent from it to churches and charitable institutions without interest, the capital being legally subject to be recalled if necessary, which was not likely to be the case.

In January 1822 the library was opened to the public. Messrs. Harmse and Hanson were the first librarians, but after a short time Mr. Thomas Pringle received the appointment, and upon his resignation in May 1824 Mr. A. J. Jardine succeeded to the post. Several valuable donations were made by residents in Capetown, and shortly after the establishment of the new library the books bequeathed to the colony by Mr. Van Dessin, and which had been during sixty-two years under the care of the consistory of the Dutch reformed church, were placed in it by an agreement with the consistory that they were to be kept separate from the others and remain under general control of the perpetual trustees named in the donor's will.

In this manner the South African public library was apparently firmly established as a library of reference. But it had many difficulties to encounter. Owing to the necessities of the government, in July 1825 the gauging fees were diverted to the colonial treasury, and from them a fixed sum of 300*l.* a year was thereafter paid to three trustees

appointed by the governor to take the place of the larger committee.

Next followed the loss of even that small grant. The wine trade became so depressed that it was necessary to provide all possible relief for its producers, and in December 1827 the gauging tax was repealed. By order of the secretary of state, a sum of 921*l.* was paid to the trustees, being the amount derived from the gauging tax over and above the 300*l.* a year which they had been receiving, and with that as a capital to work upon they appealed to the public for subscriptions.

Just at this time another difficulty occurred. The government required the rooms in the public buildings, and the library was removed to a wing of the commercial exchange. The trustees understood that the rent would be paid in perpetuity from the colonial treasury, as it was for a short time; but the pressure upon the treasury was so great that the payment was soon discontinued. Meanwhile the appeal for subscriptions had been fairly successful, and at a public meeting held on the 31st of March 1829 resolutions were adopted in favour of the management being vested in an elective committee, so, with a view of making the institution more popular, on the 3rd of February 1830 an ordinance was issued, substituting for the trustees appointed by the governor a committee of nine persons to be chosen by yearly subscribers.

The institution now assumed the double character of a library of reference and a circulating library, a combination forced upon it by necessity. From the government no aid was to be had. But the new committee pleaded so forcibly its right to compensation for the amount lent by the orphan chamber and expended in preparing rooms then used for the public service, that in 1832 twenty of the shares owned by the government in the commercial exchange were transferred to the library, and shortly afterwards a house and garden that had been occupied by the teacher of a government school were likewise made over to the committee to satisfy the claim. From that date the library depended

upon subscriptions. On the 25th of July 1886 an ordinance was issued, which did little more than recognise matters as they existed, and under it the institution is still conducted.

In 1823 a museum—chiefly of specimens of South African animals—was founded by Dr. Andrew Smith, a surgeon in the army and an enthusiastic naturalist. In June 1825 this museum was attached to the public library, and a grant of 100*l.* a year was made by the government for its support. But ten or twelve years later, after Dr. Smith left the colony, the collection was allowed to fall into such decay that when the museum now in existence was established, not more than five or six animals were worth preserving, and that only until better specimens could be procured.

In 1820 the commissioners of the admiralty resolved to establish an observatory at the Cape. In August 1821 the reverend Fearon Fallows arrived as astronomer royal. The first observatory was a temporary wooden structure in Capetown, but in 1825 another site was selected, and in 1829 the present building was completed and opened for use.

In 1820 the erection of the first lighthouse on the South African coast was commenced at Green Point, on the shore of Table Bay, by order of Sir Rufane Donkin. The building was completed early in 1824, and the light—a double one from two lanterns—was first exhibited on the 12th of April of that year.

In 1824 a road was completed through the first range of mountains, at the pass behind French Hoek. It was designed by Major Holloway, of the royal engineers, and the work was chiefly performed by soldiers of the Royal African corps. This road opened direct communication between Capetown and Worcester, and shortened the journey to Graaff-Reinet by about forty miles. Its construction cost the colony 8,375*l.* It is still used, but has lost much of its early importance since the opening of the roads over Sir Lowry's pass and through Bain's kloof, and especially since the construction of a railway through the Tulbagh kloof.

On the 13th of October 1825 the first steamship that

plied between England and India put into Table Bay. She was named the *Enterprise*, and was of five hundred tons burden, with two engines of sixty horse-power each. Her commander was Lieutenant J. H. Johnson, of the royal navy. The new departure in navigation was regarded at the Cape, as well as in Europe and India, with great interest; and when the *Enterprise* was signalled from the Lion's rump, on the fifty-eighth day after leaving Falmouth, there was much excitement. Business was suspended, the schools were closed, and every one, young and old, hurried to the beach. Before anchoring, she steamed about the bay, to exhibit her power of moving forward with the wind in any direction. As her anchor fell, the first gun of a salute was fired from the castle, and the ships in harbour ran up their flags. She made the passage from England without accident, and only called at one port—St. Thomas—where she remained three days. She left England with three hundred tons of coal, which was not all consumed when she reached Table Bay. Her engines, however, were not used when the wind was fair for sailing. Her greatest speed under steam was one hundred and sixty-nine miles in twenty-four hours, and the number of days on which the engines were used was thirty-five.

In November 1818 the reverend Dr. George Thom, previously a missionary of the London society, entered the colonial service, and was appointed clergyman of Caledon in succession to Mr. Vos, who retired on account of old age. In 1821 Dr. Thom was sent by the government to Scotland, to endeavour to procure men of ability to fill the vacant pulpits of the Dutch reformed church, and to establish free schools of a high class in the principal villages. He secured the services of the reverend Andrew Murray, who arrived in July 1822, and was stationed at Graaff-Reinet, and of the reverend Alexander Smith, who arrived at the same time, and was stationed at Uitenhage in succession to Mr. Mol, who was transferred to Swellendam. He also made arrangements with three students who were preparing for ordination—Messrs. Henry Sutherland, Colin Fraser, and George

Morgan—that they should proceed to Holland and learn the Dutch language, preparatory to taking employment in South Africa. Upon their arrival, in September 1824 Mr. Sutherland became minister of a new congregation formed at Worcester; in December of the same year Mr. Fraser was appointed to Beaufort West in succession to Mr. Taylor, who was removed to Cradock in December 1823; and in January 1826 Mr. Morgan became minister of a new congregation at Somerset East.

Dr. Thom also engaged six teachers to come out at once, and two others to follow as soon as possible. In July 1822 Mr. William Robertson was appointed to Graaff-Reinet, Mr. James Rose Innes, M.A., to Uitenhage, Mr. Archibald Brown, M.A., to Stellenbosch, Mr. William Dawson to George, Mr. James Rattray to Tulbagh, and Mr. R. Blair to Caledon. In June 1823 Mr. E. Arnold arrived and was appointed to Swellendam, and in the following August Mr. Joseph Reed was appointed to Paarl. Subsequently, as qualified teachers could be obtained, other centres of population were supplied. In some of the western villages much hostility was shown to the establishment of the schools, because instruction in them was confined to the English and Latin languages. The irritation caused by the order to substitute English for Dutch as the official language of the colony was just then at its height. Many parents regarded the schools merely as instruments for destroying their mother tongue, and refused to allow their children to attend, so that in one or two instances it was necessary to withdraw the teachers. In other places, however, and especially where some of the inhabitants were English, the attendance was large, and upon the whole it is hardly possible to estimate too highly the advantage which the colony derived in an intellectual point of view from the establishment of free schools of a high class in so many centres of population.

On the 13th of February 1820 a building was opened for public worship at a place near the head of False Bay, where the clergyman of the Dutch reformed church of Stellenbosch was in the habit of holding periodical services for the people

in the neighbourhood. Early in 1822 a village was laid out there, which was named Somerset West, and in July of that year a congregation distinct from that of Stellenbosch was formed. The reverend J. Spyker, who since June 1817 had been stationed at Swellendam, was appointed its first pastor.

In the regulations of the Batavian commissioner De Mist, a synod or general assembly of the clergymen and elders of the Dutch reformed church, to meet every second year, was contemplated; but after the conquest of the colony by the English the design was abandoned, though a general assembly was more than ever needed, owing to the severance of the connection with the *classis* of Amsterdam. In 1824, however, Lord Charles Somerset sanctioned the convocation of a synod, and on the 2nd of November of that year it met in Capetown.

At the opening there were twelve clergymen and ten elders present. The reverend Jan Christoffel Berrange, minister of Swellendam from December 1815 to June 1817, and thereafter one of the ministers of Capetown, was chosen to be moderator. The reverend Meent Borchers, of Stellenbosch, was appointed secretary. Two political commissioners represented the government in the synod: Sir John Truter, chief justice of the colony, and Mr. P. J. Truter, one of the judges of the high court. The session closed on the 19th of November, when the resolutions were sent to Lord Charles Somerset for approval, and by him were provisionally confirmed pending the decision of the imperial government. He neglected, however, to forward them to England.

The next meeting of the synod took place in November 1826, and its resolutions were in the same way laid before General Bourke, then acting governor. His Excellency submitted them, together with those of 1824, to the council, by which body various alterations and omissions were made, and in that condition they were sent to England for approval. So thoroughly subject was the church to the state in those days.

By this time it was found to be inconvenient and too expensive for the synod to meet so frequently, and thereafter it assembled only after intervals of five years.

In January 1826 there were places of worship of the Dutch reformed church at Capetown, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Tulbagh, Zwartland, Graaff-Reinet, Swellendam, Caledon, George, Uitenhage, Cradock, Beaufort West, Somerset West, Worcester, and Somerset East. The Lutherans had still but one congregation, in Capetown. The English episcopal church had five clergymen: in Capetown the reverend George Hough, in Simonstown the reverend George Sturt, in Grahamstown the reverend Thomas Ireland, in Wynberg the reverend William Wright, and in Port Elizabeth the reverend Francis McClelland.

The Wesleyans had established a congregation in Capetown, and on the 16th of June 1822 their first chapel—in Barrack-street—was opened for public worship. Before that date their clergymen had conducted service in a store hired for the purpose. In Albany they had several places of worship. In December 1823 the reverend William Shaw commenced a mission in Kaffirland, with the sons of Cungwa, and in the course of a few years stations were formed by this society along the coast as far as the Umzimvubu.

In 1806 the Roman Catholic clergyman then in Capetown was required by Sir David Baird to leave the colony, and a construction was afterwards put upon Mr. De Mist's proclamation granting religious equality which its author had not intended it to bear. Under that proclamation no clergyman could perform service publicly without the governor's permission. Mr. De Mist's motive was to prevent improper persons of any denomination from acting as clergymen, but the wording of the regulation was construed by the early English governors to mean that they could refuse to admit the ministers of any creed that they disliked.

In 1819, however, at the request of the right reverend E. Slater, titular bishop of Ruspa, who was about to proceed

from England to Mauritius, Earl Bathurst consented to a clergyman of the Roman Catholic church being stationed in Capetown. On the 1st of January 1820 the bishop arrived, with the reverend P. Scully, who was presented to the Roman Catholics as their pastor. He was well received by men of all creeds, and when he proposed to erect a place of worship, not only the principal civil servants and townspeople, but even the clergymen of other denominations subscribed to the fund, and the burgher senate approved of a site being granted free of charge. The place selected was off Harrington-street, where Trinity church—English episcopal—now stands. There a small but neat building was put up, which was long used by the Roman Catholics to worship in. Sir Rufane Donkin allowed the clergyman a stipend of 75*l.* a year, but when Lord Charles Somerset returned to the colony this was withdrawn. In January 1826, however, Earl Bathurst sanctioned a salary of 100*l.* a year being paid from the colonial treasury to a clergyman in Capetown, and also to one in Grahamstown whenever he could be obtained.

Practically after 1820 there was political and civil equality for persons of every religious belief, though it was still vaguely held in theory that Roman Catholics could be excluded from civil offices by laws of England that were binding in South Africa. If this was correct, the theory was not reduced to practice, for Colonel Bird, the colonial secretary, was a member of that church. The doubt remained until January 1830, when an ordinance was issued, declaring Roman Catholics in the Cape Colony to have full civil rights, but imposing restrictions upon members of certain religious orders.

The Glasgow missionary society was formed in 1796. In 1820 it turned its attention to South Africa, and in the following year its first agents arrived. They were the reverend Messrs. W. R. Thomson and John Bennie, who in November proceeded to the assistance of Mr. Brownlee at the Tyumie. These were soon afterwards reinforced by others from Scotland, and in 1824 a station was founded

eight or ten miles farther down the same river, near the present institution of Lovedale. In 1825 Mr. Brownlee left that part of Kaffirland entirely to the Glasgow missionaries, and founded, in connection with the London society, a station on the eastern bank of the Buffalo river, which now forms part of the borough of King-William's-Town.

The missionary societies previously working in South Africa were extending their operations within the colony. In 1824 the Moravians founded the station of Elim, only a few miles from Cape Agulhas. In 1825 the London society founded the station of Hankey, on the Gamtoos river. In 1817 the South African society founded the station of Zoar, at the foot of the Zwartebergen, in the district of Swellendam. In nearly every village throughout the country there were branches of one or other of the missionary societies, employing agents to instruct the coloured people.

Altogether, there were in the colony at the close of 1825 fifty-four places of religious worship and about one hundred and twenty schools of various classes. Beyond the colony there were mission stations with the Namaquas, Griquas, Batlapin, and Kosas.

The Mohamedan religion was never prohibited in South Africa, though during the government of the East India Company people of that creed were obliged to worship either in the open air or in private houses. They requested from General Janssens permission to build a mosque, which was granted without hesitation, and a commencement was about to be made when the colony was conquered by the English. General Baird confirmed the privilege granted by his predecessor, and very shortly there was a mosque in Capetown. Another was built during the government of Lord Charles Somerset.

The knowledge of the natural history of the country was greatly increased by the labours of M. Lalande, who was sent to South Africa by the government of France, and during the years 1819 and 1820 made a very large collection

of animals. Among the specimens which he sent to Paris were some hundreds of previously undescribed insects.

The arbitrary conduct of the governor gave rise to much discontent, and in some matters he seemed to court enmity. The manner in which he pushed the fortunes of his eldest son laid him open to attack. Every officer in the Cape regiment who stood in the way of the rapid promotion of that young man was either bought off by a lucrative civil post, or worried into retirement. In 1822, on a representation by Lord Charles that there was imminent danger of an invasion of the colony by the Kosas, Earl Bathurst was induced to consent to the enlargement of the corps by two troops of cavalry, bringing its strength up to four hundred and eighty rank and file. It was the general opinion of the English in South Africa that the real object of the governor was his son's advancement, and this view was speedily confirmed by the promotion of Captain Henry Somerset to be lieutenant-colonel of the Cape regiment and commandant of the eastern border, while the civil situation of commissioner of stamps, which he held with a salary of 700*l.* a year, was allowed to be performed by deputy. Colonel Somerset was personally popular with the Dutch colonists, and matters affecting military officers had no interest for them, so that on this occasion they did not join in the clamour of the governor's opponents.

Another matter which caused a good deal of adverse comment was the excessive cost of the governor's establishment, while the colony was in a condition of financial distress. Lord Charles Somerset had for his own use four residences, kept in repair at the public expense. There was first the government house in the gardens in Capetown.¹ Next there was the summer-house at Newlands. This was the old building occupied by the Dutch governors, that had been sold to Mr. Hendrik Vos in 1791. Afterwards it came into

¹ There is an anecdote of Lord Charles, still current in Capetown, that upon his first arrival he was driven up from the jetty, and when the carriage stopped at the door of his future residence, he inquired what building it was.

'This is government house, your excellency.'

'Government house!' he exclaimed, '... it, I took it for a dog-kennel

possession of Mr. William Duckitt, from whom Sir David Baird, on behalf of the government, obtained the house and a large portion of the grounds in exchange for a small farm in the Cape district and a plot of land known as High Constantia, adjoining the original Constantia estate. Sir John Cradock improved the house somewhat, but Lord Charles Somerset was lavish of expense upon it. He attempted to add a second storey to it, with the result that in a storm during the night of the 12th of August 1819 it tumbled down; but he at once commenced to erect in its stead the house, the main portion of which is still standing. As a marine villa he caused the building in Camp's Bay now belonging to Mr. Daniel Mills to be put up, and kept ready for his use whenever he chose to occupy it. And as a shooting-box he had the premises at Groote Post prepared for his accommodation. The grounds of Groote Post were twelve thousand morgen in extent, and the game upon them was preserved for the diversion of the governor and his friends.

At the same time Lord Charles was not giving such satisfaction to the secretary of state as before 1820. Not that his despotic treatment of the colonists was objected to, for Earl Bathurst approved of most of the acts which were offensive in South Africa. But his calls upon the imperial treasury for money were received with great annoyance. The finances of England were then in a disordered state, and the governor was expected by some means or other to keep the colonial expenditure within the revenue. The frequent questions concerning South Africa asked by members of the opposition in the house of commons were also embarrassing to the ministers. The governor must be wanting in tact, they thought, or he could surely prevent these unpleasant discussions. Still, the influence of his family and his connections was so strong that the secretary of state took care to support him publicly, while admonishing him privately.

The pecuniary difficulties of the Cape began in 1822, when unavoidable expenses increased without an equivalent

enlargement of revenue. A great storm from the 20th to the 24th of July in that year gave the governor an opportunity to solicit aid. Major Josias Cloete was sent in all haste to England to represent to Earl Bathurst more powerfully than could be done in writing the appalling consequences of the storm, and to endeavour to raise a loan of money. He was to state that all over the western districts public and private buildings, roads, vineyards, gardens, and cultivated lands were destroyed; that seven vessels out of fifteen at anchor in Table Bay were wrecked, happily with a loss of only three lives; and that help was immediately and urgently needed.

Upon these representations the British government agreed to lend the colony 125,000*l.* at five per cent yearly interest, and Lord Charles Somerset was authorised to draw for that amount at thirty days after sight. Meantime two hundred thousand paper rixdollars were stamped, and lent through the district authorities to individuals in the country who had suffered from the storm. Before a reply from England could be received, it was ascertained that the first reports of damages were greatly exaggerated, and the governor therefore hesitated to avail himself of his credit. In 1824, however, to Earl Bathurst's chagrin, Lord Charles drew bills, under this authority, for 35,097*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.*, with which he redeemed the two hundred thousand paper rixdollars, issued other sums on loan to the amount of 11,163*l.*, and applied the balance—8,934*l.*—to the repair of public buildings.

From the commissariat chest sums amounting altogether to 37,262*l.* were drawn on loan, and when this source of supply was exhausted, on the 30th of June 1825 the governor borrowed from the agent of the East India Company 18,750*l.* at four per cent yearly interest. From various local boards also sums amounting in all to 4,670*l.* were obtained. When this was reported in England, Earl Bathurst—8th of October 1825—issued peremptory instructions for the immediate suspension of all public works in the colony, and prohibited new appointments or increases of salaries without his previous sanction.

While the finances of the country were in this ruinous condition, it was agreed by every one that further taxation was impossible; and the colonists were loud in declaring that there was no other remedy than retrenchment in the salaries drawn by the principal officials.

At this time the conduct of Lord Charles Somerset was occupying a good deal of attention in the house of commons, arising from the following circumstances:

A petition to the king and parliament from a considerable number of people in Capetown opposed to the redemption of the paper money at the low rate of eighteen pence sterling to the rixdollar was sent to England in Lieutenant-Colonel Bird's charge, and excited much comment. Those who were smarting under the loss occasioned by that measure held that Lord Charles was to blame, because he had not reduced the public expenditure so as to enable him to apply the interest received through the loan bank to the redemption of the paper, instead of crediting it to the revenue.

Colonel Bird was at open enmity with the governor. In May 1818, upon the death of Mr. Henry Alexander, he had been recommended by Lord Charles for the office of colonial secretary, and in consequence received that appointment, to which a salary of 3,500*l.* and a perquisite of 300*l.* a year were attached. Early in 1823 Lord Charles came to suspect that certain documents made use of to his detriment by Sir Rufane Donkin in London were supplied by the colonial secretary, and the result was a despatch from Earl Bathurst, dated 13th of March 1824, announcing that the king was pleased to dispense with Colonel Bird's services. On the 4th of June this despatch was received, and on the same day Mr. Pieter Gerhard Brink was directed to act as colonial secretary. Colonel Bird was obliged to retire with six months' salary in advance, and thereafter a pension of 600*l.* a year, with a promise of 200*l.* a year to Mrs. Bird should she survive him. His successor was Sir Richard Plasket, who assumed duty on the 23rd of November 1824, with the title of secretary to government, and a salary of 3,000*l.* a year.

Colonel Bird made no complaint to parliament on his own account. Just then there was a memorial before the commons, brought by Mr. William Parker, the head of a party of Irish settlers of 1820, who asserted that the late colonial secretary had acted in an improper manner towards him, and was the cause of his failure in the colony. Beyond showing that there was no foundation for this charge, Colonel Bird did nothing directly to cause discussion in the commons, but indirectly several members were known to be prompted by him.

In 1820 a man named Bishop Burnett, who was well connected in England, came to South Africa as an independent immigrant with a little capital, and rented some ground close to the Grahamstown commonage from Mr. Robert Hart, the superintendent of the Somerset farm at the Boschberg. From the government he obtained a grant of land adjoining that he had leased from Mr. Hart. Upon this estate Mr. Burnett commenced agricultural operations in the style to which he had been accustomed in England, and expended his capital largely in an ornamental building and embellishing the grounds about it. From a firm of merchants in Cape-town he obtained a considerable credit, and mortgaged his property as security. In the end he was unable to pay the second year's rent and a sum of money due for some cattle to Mr. Hart, who sued him for the debt before the circuit court.

A series of lawsuits followed, and a decree was obtained declaring Mr. Burnett insolvent. During the proceedings in the case leading to this declaration, he tendered in payment an account against Captain Henry Somerset for grass supplied to the Cape regiment under that officer's command, but as this account was disputed, the court refused to accept it as equivalent to money. In the condition to which he was reduced, his capital lost, his prospects in South Africa blighted, his honesty challenged for having secured one creditor by a bond while there was nothing to meet the claims of others, Mr. Burnett came to believe that gross injustice had been done to him; and when the property,

upon the embellishment of which he had spent so much, was sold for a mere trifle, he regarded the proceedings against him as nothing better than robbery.

His denunciations of Captain Somerset, Mr. Hart, and every one connected with the courts of justice were publicly made in very violent language, and at length in a memorial to Lord Charles Somerset, dated at Grahamstown on the 2nd of December 1823, he accused Messrs. Borchers and Truter, the judges of the circuit court, of 'prejudice, partiality, and a corrupt violation of justice.' He stated that the whole history of the proceedings in which he had been engaged was one 'of flagrant injustice, of legal error and perversion, of inconsistency, of extra-judicial procedure, of scandalous oppression, and of intolerable persecution.' In conclusion, he denounced Messrs. Truter and Borchers as 'persons morally disqualified to fulfil the sacred functions intrusted to them.'

The governor placed this memorial in the hands of the fiscal, who caused Mr. Burnett to be tried for libel before the high court of justice. On the 9th of November 1824 he was pronounced guilty, when he was sentenced to banishment from the colony for five years, and to imprisonment until his embarkation. The latter part of the sentence was not enforced, and with an early opportunity Mr. Burnett left South Africa and proceeded to England. There he denounced Lord Charles Somerset as not only responsible for the acts of every officer of the colonial government because they held their situations at his Excellency's pleasure, but as the instigator of such oppression as he had experienced. In June 1825 he applied to the house of commons for redress, and Mr. Brougham, when presenting his petition, observed that if the statements contained in it were proved, he should feel it his duty to impeach Lord Charles Somerset.

On the 3rd of February 1823 the reverend Abraham Faure, one of the clergymen of the Dutch reformed church in Capetown, and Mr. Thomas Pringle, assistant public librarian, sent to the governor the prospectus of a monthly

magazine which they proposed to publish alternately in Dutch and English. The governor forwarded the prospectus to the secretary of state for the colonies, who on the 7th of July wrote in answer that he had no objection to its publication, provided that all topics of political or personal controversy were rigidly excluded. This condition was considered by the imperial authorities necessary in a country occupied by different nationalities, and where slavery existed.

A few weeks after the prospectus of the magazine was sent to the governor by Messrs. Faure and Pringle, an English printer named George Greig arrived at the Cape. Having obtained a printing press from the reverend Dr. Philip, superintendent of the London society's missions, and a quantity of type from a vessel that called at Table Bay on her passage to India, in July he sent in a memorial for permission to publish a magazine; but as Lord Charles Somerset had not yet received instructions from Earl Bathurst, Mr. Greig was merely informed by the colonial secretary that numerous requests to the same purport had been made, and that the governor would feel himself bound to consider the interests of prior applicants whenever a printing press should be established in the colony.

Mr. Greig waited until December, and then, having heard nothing further from the government, he abandoned the project of publishing a magazine, and issued a prospectus of a weekly newspaper, in which he stated that 'the *South African Commercial Advertiser* would ever most rigidly exclude all personal controversy, however disguised, or the remotest discussion of subjects relating to the policy or administration of the colonial government.' A copy of the prospectus was sent to the governor, with a letter requesting his patronage, but not formally asking his leave. The pledge in the prospectus seemed to comply so exactly with Earl Bathurst's instructions that Lord Charles made no objection to the paper being published, and on the 7th of January 1824 the first number was issued from the office, No. 30 Longmarket-street, Capetown. A little later Messrs.

Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn became its joint editors, and as both these gentlemen were well-educated and able, its literary character was high.

At this time there was living in Capetown a man who went by the name of William Edwards, by occupation a notary. He was a noisy and turbulent individual, a rabid declaimer against the tory party, and a constant boaster of his position and influence in England. In January 1824 he was employed by Mr. Launcelot Cooke, a resident in the town, to draw up a memorial to the lords of the treasury, in which Mr. Charles Blair, collector of customs, was charged with allotting prize negroes to his creditors in payment of his debts. In the usual manner this memorial was sent to the governor, but, instead of forwarding it, Lord Charles Somerset, with whom Mr. Blair was a favourite, caused Cooke and Edwards to be tried for libel. On the 26th of March they were acquitted, but Edwards suffered a month's imprisonment for abusive language in court towards the fiscal, Mr. Daniel Denyssen. A report of the trial appeared in the *Commercial Advertiser*, and was certainly calculated to bring the chief law officer of the colony into disrespect. Besides this, a leading article upon a model administrator and several extracts from different books gave offence to the governor.

In April William Edwards was again brought before the high court of justice, charged with addressing a malicious and libellous letter to the governor, when in his defence he did all that he possibly could to cast slurs upon the character of Lord Charles Somerset.

To prevent a report of this case appearing in print, on the 3rd of May the governor instructed the fiscal to require Mr. Greig to furnish security to the amount of 750*l.* that he would adhere to the terms of his prospectus, and unless such security were forthcoming by the 7th of the month to stop the press until it should be given. The fiscal was also directed to look over the proofsheets of the paper to be published on the 5th, and to suppress anything offensive in them. On the evening of the 4th these instructions were

carried out. The following morning the eighteenth number of the *Commercial Advertiser* appeared with a notice that as the fiscal had assumed a censorship, the publisher found it his duty to discontinue the paper until he had applied for redress to his Excellency the governor and the British government.

The 7th passed without an offer of the required security, but with a notification to the public by Mr. Greig that he intended to publish an advertising sheet and an account of the facts connected with the suppression of the newspaper through the assumption of a censorship by the fiscal. On the 8th the governor directed the fiscal to put a seal upon the press, and issued a warrant requiring Mr. Greig to leave the colony within a month. The matter was regarded as of such importance that these directions were carried out on Sunday by the fiscal and a commission from the high court of justice. By some means Mr. Greig then managed to print an account of what had occurred on slips of paper, which were extensively distributed; and he also put up a notice offering his type for sale, to enable him to proceed to England to seek redress. This so irritated the governor that he issued an order to place a seal on the type, and when it was thus made unsaleable, his Excellency offered to purchase it at a valuation. To get money, Mr. Greig gave his consent, and though a fortnight later it was intimated to him by the fiscal that, unless he provoked the governor again, his quitting the colony would not be enforced, he took passage in the first vessel that sailed for England.

A few days later the type was transferred by the governor to a printer in the *Gazette* office named William Bridekirk, who had a small shop for the sale of books and stationery; and on the 18th of August a new paper, called the *South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser*, appeared. This paper, like the *Commercial Advertiser*, was published in the English and Dutch languages once a week. It was to all intents a government organ, and was eulogistic of Lord Charles Somerset personally. It continued in existence until the close of 1826.

Shortly after Mr. Greig left the colony, his press was claimed by the reverend Dr. Philip as the property of the London missionary society, but the governor refused to give it up without proof of ownership and security to the amount of 750*l.* that it would not be used for purposes of political or personal controversy. He then referred the matter to Earl Bathurst.

Meantime a petition to the king in council was numerously signed in Capetown, praying that the press in South Africa might be placed under legal protection. This tended to exasperate the governor still more, and his displeasure was vented upon as many of those who signed it as came in his way. To such lengths did he proceed that he threatened to put in force his proclamation against illegal meetings if the members of a newly-formed literary and scientific society—who were chiefly men that signed the petition—should venture to assemble, and he compelled all civil servants of standing to withdraw their names from that association.

Upon reaching England, Mr. Greig applied to the secretary of state for the colonies, and received an attentive hearing. Earl Bathurst was not one whit more than Lord Charles Somerset in favour of an uncontrolled newspaper in the colony, but the arbitrary proceedings in connection with the suppression of the *Commercial Advertiser* were exciting much comment in London, the opponents of the ministry were turning that event to the best account, and the secretary was compelled to proceed with the greatest caution. Mr. Greig was desired to submit his case in writing, and it was then carefully compared with Lord Charles Somerset's reports. In the relation of matters of fact they agreed, but their deductions were widely different. Dr. Philip's claim to the press was then referred to Mr. Greig for explanation, and was repudiated by him, as he asserted that the press was purchased, not borrowed. He stated also that the sale of his type to the Cape government was practically forced upon him, as he was prevented from using it, and needed money to defray his travelling expenses.

On the 12th of February 1825 Earl Bathurst gave his decision. Mr. Greig was permitted to return to the Cape Colony, with liberty to publish a newspaper under the terms of the prospectus issued by him in December 1823. The type sold to the Cape government was to be restored to him at the same price, and he was to have a long credit for payment. The dispute with Dr. Philip concerning the ownership of the press was to be settled between themselves, or by a court of law. The exact meaning of the prospectus was referred to the governor in council, who could withdraw the license to publish if the terms were not observed.

Mr. Greig accordingly returned to the colony. He was unable to obtain the type which had been transferred to Mr. Bridekirk, but he managed to procure other, and on the 31st of August 1825 the *South African Commercial Advertiser* appeared again. Mr. Fairbairn now became its sole editor, as Mr. Pringle returned to England. The paper from this date became decidedly an opposition organ to the existing government.

This was not the only contention which Lord Charles Somerset had with the press. On the 2nd of December 1823 he formally gave leave to Messrs. Pringle and Faure to publish the magazine which they proposed to edit, and on the 5th of March 1824 the first number of the *South African Journal* appeared, followed in April by the first number of the *Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift*. Each magazine was issued as an octavo pamphlet of sixty-four to one hundred pages. The second number of the *Journal* appeared on the 7th of May, and contained, among other articles, one upon the state and prospects of the British settlers, in which their distress was partly attributed to 'an arbitrary system of government and its natural consequences: abuse of power by local functionaries, monopolies, restrictions, &c.'

On the 13th of May the fiscal sent for Mr. Pringle, and demanded security that he would abstain in future from political and personal controversy. This Mr. Pringle declined to give. The governor then sent for him, and in offensive language upbraided him with being ungrateful.

His Excellency had enlarged the grant to his party of settlers at Glen Lynden by nine thousand four hundred acres of ground, and had conferred upon himself the situation of sub-librarian of the public library in Capetown, with a salary of 75*l.* a year. Mr. Pringle replied that he presumed the grant of ground had been made as a matter of public duty, and as for the sub-librarianship he begged to resign it. Lord Charles then expressed a wish that the *South African Journal* should be continued, but that care should be taken to avoid the publication of offensive matter in it. Mr. Pringle, however, declined to conduct it longer, unless it was protected by law from arbitrary interference on the part of the executive branch of the government, and to this no reply was made.

The *Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift* continued to be published as before, but the *Journal* expired with the second number. An academy conducted by Messrs. Pringle and Fairbairn, and which had been in a thriving condition, now rapidly lost its best pupils, as the governor showed himself unfriendly to those who sent children to it. His Excellency regarded it, indeed, as a school where seditious principles were being instilled into the minds of the young, and he wrote so urgently to Earl Bathurst upon the necessity of counteracting it, that the secretary of state engaged the reverend Edward Judge, a clergyman of the English church, to come out and establish a seminary. In May 1825 Mr. Judge arrived, and opened a high-class school in Capetown, with which it was impossible for a private establishment to compete.

The *Commercial Advertiser* was suppressed to prevent a report of the trial of William Edwards appearing in it. By the public the governor was regarded as the real prosecutor in that trial, though the fiscal took the responsibility. Edwards was found guilty, and was sentenced to seven years' transportation to New South Wales. At that time English convict ships called at the Cape for supplies of fresh provisions, and by order of the imperial government persons sentenced to transportation by the colonial high

court were received on board and conveyed to Australia, where they were kept in detention just as if they had been sentenced in England. When on the way to Simonstown to be consigned to a convict ship, Edwards made his escape, but was subsequently discovered in the house of a retired shipmaster named John Carnall, at Wynberg, and when re-arrested made an abortive attempt to commit suicide.

Captain Carnall was then tried before a court of two judges for aiding Edwards to escape, and was sentenced to banishment from the colony for a year. The fiscal appealed to the full court, and on the 8th of November 1824 the sentence was increased to five years' transportation to New South Wales. The governor mitigated it, however, to five years' banishment from the colony, and Captain Carnall took passage for England.

These events caused much ferment in Capetown. Edwards was regarded by a large number of people as a kind of martyr for liberty, as a man who was pursued to death by the governor for no other offence than that of having written a letter to his Excellency in unguarded language. Captain Carnall was described as an inoffensive and amiable man, who in the evening of life was required to sacrifice his property and make a new home in some other country where tyranny was less triumphant than in South Africa.

Another circumstance that caused a good deal of excitement in Capetown during this eventful winter was a number of abusive placards that were posted up at night. At daybreak in the morning of the 1st of June, Captain Findlay, a master mariner who was resident in the town, observed a placard pasted on a post at the Heerengracht end of the parade, and found it to be a malignant and obscene charge against the governor. He did not remove it, and a little later in the morning it was not there, though no one else could be found who saw it. Upon nothing but Captain Findlay's report, the governor offered a very large reward for the discovery of the author of the placard, and

the leading people in the town supplemented the offer most liberally. But no discovery was made. Then the governor issued warrants to search the premises and papers of certain individuals. Nothing whatever was brought to light, and an opinion became prevalent that the placard was designed by some of his Excellency's minions purposely to enable search warrants to be issued.

These matters found their way into the London newspapers, and were commented upon greatly to the disfavour of Lord Charles Somerset. The variety in the character and occupation of the individuals who had lived under his government, and who were then in London denouncing him, gave weight to the general opinion that his administration was so despotic and corrupt as to be a disgrace to the English name. The most violent and energetic of his accusers was Mr. Bishop Burnett, the most talented were Colonel Bird and Sir Rufane Donkin, and the simplest was the old skipper John Carnall. But there were many others, of whom only two or three need be mentioned.

Mr. Pringle was still in South Africa, but was in correspondence with the secretary of state and with a leading member of the house of commons.

Mr. Launcelot Cooke was a formidable opponent, who succeeded in bringing his views very prominently before the British people. His case was simply this: how can justice be obtained in a colony where the judges are nominees of the governor and removable at his pleasure, if charges addressed to the imperial authorities can be detained by that governor, and those who make them be prosecuted criminally for libel?

Another, but much less formidable, opponent was the reverend William Geary. This individual was a clergyman of the English episcopal church, who came to South Africa with a letter of recommendation from the duchess of Beaufort, and was in consequence appointed minister at Grahamstown by Lord Charles Somerset. His letters show him as a petty-minded contentious person, dissatisfied with his position, and continually harping upon the smallness of

what he termed his surplice fees. In October 1824 Lord Charles dismissed him, and appointed the reverend Thomas Ireland as his successor, greatly to the satisfaction of the Grahamstown people. Mr. Geary returned to England, where he represented himself as a victim of the governor's tyranny, and was attentively listened to.

In 1825 the ministry warded off an attack in the house of commons by promising that the various complaints which had been brought forward should be submitted to the investigation of the commissioners of inquiry, that their reports should be in readiness at an early date, and that Lord Charles Somerset should be called upon to defend himself. Mr. Bigge was then in ill health, so it became necessary to appoint a third commissioner. Mr. William Blair, who was selected for the office, arrived at the Cape on the 24th of December 1825.

Lord Charles had previously requested leave to return to England, in order—as he expressed himself—to refute the gross calumnies with which he was assailed; and Earl Bathurst had given him permission to do so. But at the beginning of 1826 the feeling in London was so strong that the secretary of state considered it necessary to recall the governor 'to give explanations,' in case he should not immediately proceed home of his own accord. The direction of public opinion was clearly indicated by the *Times* newspaper of the 19th of January, in which the trial of Lord Charles Somerset was demanded, and Mr. Brougham was called upon to fulfil the promise to impeach him.

On the 8th of February 1826 General Bourke arrived in the ship-of-war *Rainbow*, with instructions to carry on the administration during the absence of the governor. On the 5th of March Lord Charles, with his wife and eldest daughter, embarked in the East India Company's ship *Atlas*, and sailed for England. He left the remaining members of his family at the Cape, as he confidently expected to return at no very distant date.

A few days after the governor's arrival in England there

was a brief discussion of his case in the house of commons, but owing to the advanced stage of the session the subject was allowed to drop. Then parliament was dissolved, and Mr. Beaumont, the member who had been most active in introducing petitions against him, was not returned for the new house. In December 1826 Mr. Hume, who presented a petition from Captain Carnall, brought the matter on again, but discussion was still further postponed.

In April 1827 Mr. Canning succeeded the earl of Liverpool as prime minister, and Lord Goderich took Earl Bathurst's place. Lord Charles Somerset immediately sent in his resignation as governor of the Cape Colony. On the 17th of May Mr. Wilmot Horton moved in the commons that the reports of the commissioners of inquiry should be laid upon the table, which was agreed to.

On the 29th of June 1827 the matter finally came on for discussion. But by this time everybody was weary of the subject, and new events were occupying all minds. The resignation of the governor was accepted by most people as having done away with the necessity for further investigation. William Edwards, upon reaching New South Wales, was recognised as an escaped convict whose true name was Alexander Lockaye, and the strong feeling which his case had called forth at once subsided. The report of the commissioners of inquiry upon the case of Mr. Bishop Burnett, which had been made so much of, was entirely in Lord Charles Somerset's favour. Mr. Brougham himself prevented debate by a short speech, in which he informed the commons that, having been retained in a case that came before the privy council, he had found the most serious charge made by Burnett against the governor—that of taking a sum of money in an indirect manner by the sale of a horse for giving a decision as judge of the court of appeal—was utterly groundless. The governor's decision was actually against the man who had purchased the horse from him. After Mr. Brougham, a few members spoke, generally in favour of acquitting the governor of personal corruption; but there was no life in the debate, and it ended

—never to be resumed—in a resolution that the papers should remain upon the table.

Lord Charles Somerset survived this event nearly four years. He died at Brighton on the 20th of February 1831, after a very short illness.

apers.

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1881,

CHAPTER XXXIV.

HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN BANTU TRIBES DURING THE EARLY
YEARS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Comparison of the Bantu tribes of the interior with those living along the coast—Rise of the Zulu chief Tshaka—Account of the chief Dingiswayo—Formation of Tshaka's army—Wars of extermination carried on by the Zulus—Account of the Tembu tribe—Invasion of the Tembu country by a horde of fugitives under the chief Madikane—Defeat and death of Madikane—Origin of the Fingos—Account of the Hlubi tribe—Devastation of the country between the sources of the Caledon and the Vaal—Terrible destruction of life by the Mantati horde—Devastation of the country along the Caledon—Rise of the Basuto chief Moshesh—Career of the Amangwane tribe—Invasion of the Tembu country by the Amangwane—Flight of a Tembu clan into the Cape Colony—Invasion of the Tembu country by a Zulu army—Defeat of the Amangwane by a colonial commando—Devastation of the Pondo country by a Zulu regiment—Settlement of the Batlokua tribe on the upper Caledon—Growth of the Basuto tribe under Moshesh—Account of the chief Moselekatse—Destructive career of the Matabele under Moselekatse—Account of Griqua and Korana marauders—Settlement of missionaries of the Paris evangelical society with the Basuto under Moshesh—Account of the Barolong tribe—Settlement of Wesleyan missionaries with a clan of the Barolong—Occupation of land along the Caledon by various clans under guidance of Wesleyan missionaries.

At this period nearly the whole of South Africa beyond the borders of the Cape Colony was in a state of violent disturbance, owing to wars among different Bantu tribes. The colony itself was affected to such an extent by an influx of fugitives that its history cannot be continued without an account of what was then occurring in the region between the Orange and Limpopo rivers, the Kalahari desert and the Indian ocean. In order to make this account intelligible, it is necessary first to enumerate the principal tribes, and to show in what respects those of the interior differ from those living along the coast.

At the beginning of the present century the great range of mountains called the Kathlamba or Drakensbergen was a dividing line between two sections of Bantu that have many characteristics in common, but between whom there are

some important differences. The principal tribes composing the section that occupied the land along the coast were the following:

1. The Amakosa, bordering on the Cape Colony, and inhabiting the district between the Fish and Bashee rivers.
2. The Abatembu, occupying the district between the Bashee and Umtata rivers.
3. The Amampondomisi, who lived east of the Umtata, forty or fifty miles from the sea.
4. The Amampondo, who occupied the country along the lower course of the Umzimvubu river.
5. The Amakesibe (correct Kaffir spelling Amaxesibe), who occupied a small district on one of the eastern tributaries of the Umzimvubu. These people were a branch of a tribe living much farther north, but they had been settled for several generations where they were then living, and had become politically independent.
6. A number of tribes—the Amabele, the Amazizi, the Amahlubi, the Abasekunene, and many others of less importance—occupying the territory that is now the colony of Natal. The Amamfengu or Fingos of the present day are descendants of these people.
7. The Amabaca, who also occupied at that time a portion of Natal, and whose descendants are now to be found dispersed between the Tina and Umzimkulu rivers.
8. The Amangwane, living along the Umzinyati river.
9. The various tribes that were welded together by Tshaka, and have since formed the Amazulu. They occupied the country between the Tugela and Pongolo rivers.
10. The Amatonga, living along the coast south of Delagoa Bay.
11. The Amaswazi, occupying an inland district north of the Pongolo river.

Beyond these, or north of Delagoa Bay, the country along the coast was thickly inhabited, but the tribes there were too remote to need mention in this history.

This group, from the Amakosa to the Amaswazi, may conveniently be called the coast tribes of South Africa.

Most of them derive their titles from the name of their first great chief or founder, thus the Amakosa are they of Kosa, the Abatembu they of Tembu, the Amaswazi they of Swazi. A few are called after some peculiarity of the people; but in such cases the titles appear to have been originally nicknames given by strangers, and afterwards adopted by the members of the tribe. The Amamfengu—literally the wanderers—of our own times present an instance of this manner of acquiring a title.

On the other side of the Kathlamba range which, at a distance of about one hundred and twenty miles, runs nearly parallel with the margin of the Indian ocean, the most advanced tribe on the south was the Baphuti, who were thinly scattered over the district stretching southward from Thaba Bosigo to the Orange river.

Next came a group of five tribes terming themselves the Mayiane, the Makhoakhoa, the Bamonageng, the Batlakoana, and the Baramokhele. They spoke the same dialect, and claimed descent from common ancestors, which, however, they could not trace; but politically each was independent of the others, except when accident or the abilities of some chief gave supremacy for a time to a particular ruler among them. They occupied the valley of the Caledon from about the parallel of Thaba Bosigo northward. It will be well to regard them with particular attention, for their descendants form the nucleus of the present Basuto tribe.

Adjoining them to the north, and occupying the country along the banks of the Sand river, was a tribe named the Bataung, the members of which could not be distinguished by any custom or peculiarity of dialect from the five tribes, but which had never yet in its traditional history been politically connected with them.

Along the southern bank of the Vaal, between the district occupied by the Bataung and the Drakensberg, were various tribes of kindred blood, the remnants of which are now to be found intermingled with the Basuto. It is unnecessary to give their titles, as their individuality has been completely lost, and none of them have ever taken an

important part in events since Europeans became acquainted with the country.

To the north-east at no great distance was a tribe known as the Batlokua, celebrated among their neighbours as skilful workers in iron and traders in implements made of that metal. They occupied the country along the slopes of the Kathlamba, about the sources of the Wilge and Mill rivers, in the present district of Harrismith. Closely allied with the Batlokua and mixed up with them by intermarriages were the Basia, whose kraals were built along the Elands river. Mokotsho, chief of the Batlokua, about the beginning of the century took as his great wife Monyalwe, daughter of Mothage, chief of the Basia. Their eldest child was a daughter, Ntatisi, after whose birth Monyalwe, according to custom, was called Ma Ntatisi, a name which subsequently acquired great notoriety.

There is no necessity to enumerate the tribes that then occupied the inland mountain slopes farther northward, as they have entirely disappeared.

The group here mentioned, consisting of the Baphuti, the Mayiane, the Makhoakhoa, the Bamonageng, the Batlakoana, the Baramokhele, the Bataung, the Basia, and the Batlokua, may for convenience sake be termed the Basuto or the mountain tribes.

The country which they inhabited is to South Africa what Switzerland is to Europe. It lies along the inner slope of the highest portion of the Drakensberg, and the lowest point of it is more than five thousand feet above the level of the sea. It is almost destitute of trees, but is covered with good pasturage, and its valleys, especially those drained by the streamlets that feed the Caledon, contain excellent soil for agriculture. During the winter months, or from May to August, the mountain tops are frequently covered with snow, and in summer violent thunderstorms pass over the country and cause it to produce food in abundance for man and beast. The land along the head waters of the numerous streams that flow into the Vaal is thus capable of supporting a dense population, as is also the narrow belt between the

Caledon and the Maluti range; but east of that chain the surface is so rugged that it is considered uninhabitable. In summer, however, it is used as grazing ground for horned cattle, which are then driven up from the lower lands in great herds.

Parts of this territory have been made by nature almost impregnable. Isolated mountains abound, some of them with their sides of naked rock so nearly perpendicular that the summits are only accessible by two or three narrow paths between overhanging cliffs, where half a dozen resolute men can keep an army at bay. The tops of such mountains are tablelands well watered and affording good pasturage, so that they can be held for an indefinite time.

The western limits of the mountain tribes were not defined in any other way than that the people, being agriculturists, spread themselves out no farther than they could make gardens, which they could not do on the arid plains. Over those plains roamed Bushmen, preying upon the countless antelopes, and, beyond them, along the Vaal and Hart rivers, were Koranas with their herds of horned cattle and flocks of sheep.

Some ninety or a hundred miles north-west of the last kraals of the mountain tribes, the outposts of another section of the Bantu race were to be found. The first tribe in this direction was the Batlapin, who were, however, not pure Bantu, for in their veins was a mixture of Korana blood. Next to the northward were the Barolong, and beyond them the Bahurutsi, the Bangwaketsi, the Bakwena, and many others whose titles need not be mentioned. This group may be termed the Betshuana or the central tribes of South Africa, as the territory which they occupied is about midway between the Atlantic and Indian oceans. West of them lay the great Kalahari desert. East were numerous kindred tribes, occupying the country on both sides of the ridge that separates the waters which flow into the Vaal from those which flow into the Limpopo.

There is less difference between the second and the third of the groups here mentioned than between the first and the

second, though the customs of the mountain tribes are, in many respects, like their geographical position, intermediate between the others. They speak three dialects of a common language, but while a Mosuto,¹ for instance, and a Morolong understand each other without difficulty, a Mosuto and a Zulu cannot converse together.

The Basuto and Betschuana have several methods of distinguishing the different tribes from each other. One is by a title derived from their founder, by giving his name a plural form, as Barolong from Morolong, Baramokhele from the father of Mokhele. Another is derived from the name of the place where the tribe originally lived. A third is from some peculiarity of the people. A fourth is by giving a plural form to the name of the animal which the tribe holds in fear or reverence. Thus the Bakwena are they of the crocodile, the Bataung they of the lion, the Baphuti they of the little blue antelope. Each original tribe had its own *siboko*, or object of veneration, which it 'danced to,' but did not actually worship. The members of the tribe would on no account harm the animal thus venerated, and took great trouble to avoid even coming in contact with it; though they had no respect for the animals held in regard by others. This method of distinguishing the tribes was the simplest and best at the beginning of the century, but owing to the extent to which they have since been broken up and reformed, it cannot now be exclusively followed.

The Bantu everywhere have strong faith in the power of charms to turn aside evils. They believe in the efficacy of certain medicines to give them courage, or to make them invulnerable in battle. They divine the issue of warlike

¹ Explanation of terms:—

Mosuto, a single individual of the tribe.

Basuto, two or more individuals or the tribe collectively.

Sesuto, the language of the Basuto. The Basuto use the word also to denote characteristic customs.

Lesuto, the country belonging to the tribe.

asuto, used by Europeans also as an adjective signifying pertaining to the people so called. A Mosuto would use the expression 'of the Basuto.'

So with Morolong, Barolong, Serolong, Motlokua, Batlokua, &c., &c., &c.

operations by revolting cruelties practised on animals. They have an intense fear of ghosts, and a firm belief in the existence of malevolent water-spirits. All this is common to the different sections, but in some respects the mountain tribes are even more superstitious than those of the coast. The former are actually guided in half their actions by the position in which some pieces of bone of the character of dice fall when they are cast on the ground.

Deep in the minds of these people is the germ of a belief in the transmigration of souls. A species of snake is regarded with great reverence, because they suppose that the spirits of their ancestors sometimes visit them in that form. A man will leave his hut in possession of such a snake, if it should enter, and every one would shudder at the thought of hurting it. This belief is more highly developed among the coast tribes than among those of the interior, but traces of it are to be found everywhere among the southern Bantu.

All of these tribes, when first encountered by Europeans, were acquainted with the use of iron, which they smelted for themselves, and of which they made implements of war and husbandry. The occupation of the worker in this metal was hereditary in certain families, and was carried on with a good deal of mystery, the common belief being that it was necessary to employ charms unknown to those not initiated. But the arts of the founder and the blacksmith had not advanced beyond the elementary stage. They made clumsy hoes for turning up the ground, but instead of an opening for a handle these were provided with a spike which was driven into a hole burnt through the knob of a heavy piece of wood. The assagai was common to all, and in addition the interior tribes made crescent-shaped battle-axes, which were fastened to handles in the same manner as the hoes. On these implements of war they bestowed all their skill, and really produced neatly finished articles. They worked the metal cold, and were unable to weld two pieces together.

Of the use of stone for building purposes, the coast tribes knew nothing, and the interior tribes very little. None of

them had ever dressed a block, but the cattle-folds, which along the coast were constructed of branches of trees, in the mountains were made of round stones roughly laid together to form a wall. The quern, or handmill for grinding corn, which was in common use, consisted of untrimmed stones, one flat or hollow and the other round or oval.

All had great skill in dressing the skins of animals, of which their scanty clothing was composed. The interior tribes excelled in this art, and equalled, if they did not surpass, the neatest European furriers in making robes, which they stitched with sinews by the help of an awl.

The coast tribes preserved their grain in pits excavated beneath cattle-folds, but the interior tribes used for this purpose either earthen crocks or enormous baskets, which were perfectly watertight, and which could be exposed to the air without damage to their contents.

The common law of all the tribes is the same. It holds every one accused of crime guilty, unless he can prove himself innocent. It makes the head of a family responsible for the conduct of all its branches, the kraal collectively in the same manner for each resident in it, and the clan for each of its kraals. There is no such thing under it as a man professing ignorance of his neighbour's doings; the law requires him to know all about them, or it makes him suffer for neglecting a duty which it holds he owes to the community. Every individual is not only in theory but in practice a policeman.

Among these people it is no uncommon occurrence for small and weak tribes, or fragments of tribes, to seek protection from some powerful ruler, and to have a tract of land assigned to their use within his domains. In such cases they give a few head of cattle as a mark of their subjection and of his sovereignty. They are then viewed as vassals, their chiefs possessing indeed full power of government of their own adherents, but bound to acknowledge the head of the tribe from whom they hold their land as their superior in all matters affecting the combined communities.

When Europeans first came in contact with these

people, the interior tribes were found to have attained a somewhat higher degree of perfection in such handicrafts as were practised by them all. The government of the interior tribes also was less despotic, for matters of public importance were commonly submitted to the decision of a general assembly of the leading men. Their males were found aiding the females in agriculture, though the hardest and most constant labour was by them also left to the women. Their habitations were vastly superior. The house of a Motshuana had perpendicular walls, and consisted of a central circular room, with three or four apartments outside, each being a segment of a circle. It was surrounded with an enclosed courtyard, and was, with the exception of being destitute of chimney or window, almost as capacious and comfortable as the cottage of an ordinary European peasant. The hut of a man belonging to the coast tribes was a single circular room, covered by a low dome of thatch, and no effort was made to secure the slightest privacy. Midway in convenience between these was the hut of a resident in the mountain land.

But with these exceptions, all comparisons between the tribes must be favourable to those of the coast. The Bantu of the interior are smaller in stature and less handsome in appearance than the splendidly formed men who live on the terraces between the Kathlamba and the sea. In all that is comprised in the word manliness they are vastly lower.

Truth is not a virtue of savage life. In general, if a man can extricate himself from a difficulty, escape punishment, or gain any other advantage by telling a falsehood, and does not do so, he is regarded as a fool. Instances, however, have not been rare of chiefs of coast tribes making promises and adhering faithfully to them; but the word of the very best of the interior chiefs has always been found to be worth absolutely nothing.

The deceptive power of all these people is something wonderful to Europeans. But there is one member which the coast native cannot control, and while with a countenance otherwise devoid of expression he relates the grossest

falsehood or the most tragic event, his lively eye betrays the passions he is feeling. When falsehood is brought home to him unanswerably, he casts his glances to the ground or around him, but does not meet the eye of the man he has been attempting to deceive. The native of the mountains and of the interior, on the contrary, seems to have no conception whatever of shame attached to falsehood, and his comparatively listless eye is seldom allowed to betray him.

The native of the coast is brave in the field: his inland kinsman is in general an arrant coward. The one is modest when speaking of his exploits, the other is an intolerable boaster. The difference between them in this respect is very great, and is exemplified in many ways, but a single illustration will give an idea of it. Faku, son of Gungushe, chief of the Pondos, by no means the best specimen of a coast native, once wished to show his regard for Mr. Henry Fynn, who was then residing with him in the character of diplomatic agent of the colonial government. He presented to him a hundred head of cattle with this expression: 'you have no food to eat, and we desire to show our wishes towards you, take this basket of corn from the children of Gungushe.' An inland chief presents a half-starved old goat to his guest with the expression 'behold an ox.'

There is a very important difference in their marriage customs. A man of the coast tribes will not marry a girl whose relationship by blood to himself can be traced, no matter how distantly connected they may be. So scrupulous is he in this respect that he will not even marry a girl who belongs to another tribe, if she has the same family name as himself, though the relationship cannot be traced. He regards himself as the protector of those females whom we would term his cousins and second cousins, but for whom he has only the same name as for the daughters of his own parents, the endearing name of sister.¹ In his opinion

¹ When speaking to another—even to a European—of one of these females, it is customary with a Kosa to use a plural pronoun, and to say our sister, not my sister (*udade wetu*, not *udade wam*). I have not been able to trace the origin of this custom.

union with one of them would be incestuous, something horrible, something unutterably disgraceful. The native of the mountains almost as a rule marries the daughter of his father's brother. There is nothing else in their customs, not even the fearful depravity which is yet to be mentioned, that creates such disgust as this intermarriage does in the minds of the people of the coast. They attribute to it the insanity and idiocy which are prevalent in the mountains, and they say the Basuto deserve to have idiots for children, as their marriages are like the marriages of dogs.

The circumcision rites of the tribes are also different. On the coast there is nothing secret about the ceremony, but with the mountain tribes the youths are formed into guilds or lodges with passwords. The members of these lodges are bound never to give evidence against one another. The rites of initiation are kept profoundly secret, but certain horrible customs performed on some of these occasions have become known. One of these customs is the infusion of courage, intelligence, and other qualities. Whenever an enemy who has acted bravely is killed, his liver, which is considered the seat of valour, his ears, which are considered the seat of intelligence, the skin of his forehead, which is considered the seat of perseverance, and other members, each of which is supposed to be the seat of some desirable quality, are cut from his body and baked to cinders. The ashes are carefully preserved in the horn of a bull, and during the circumcision ceremonies are mixed with other ingredients into a kind of paste and administered by the tribal priest to the youths, the idea being that the virtues which they represent are communicated to those who swallow them. This practice, together with that of using other parts of the remains of their enemies for bewitching purposes, accounts for the mutilation of the bodies of those who fall into their hands in war, a practice which has more than once infuriated white men whose friends have been thus treated, and caused them to commit deeds from which they would otherwise have shrunk.

The corresponding ceremony through which girls of

twelve or thirteen years of age pass, as practised by the coast tribes, might be deemed the most degrading rite that human beings have ever been subject to, if it were not known that among the mountain tribes it is even more vile. All that the most depraved imagination can devise to rouse the lowest passions of the young females is here practised. A description is impossible.

Chastity in married life can hardly be said to exist among the coast tribes. By custom every wife of a polygamist has a lover, and no woman sinks in the esteem of her companions on this becoming publicly known. The law allows the husband a fine from the male offender, and permits him to chastise the woman, provided he does not maim her; but in the opinion of the females the offence is venial and is not attended with disgrace. Favoured guests have female companions—who are, however, generally widows—allotted to them. Still, chastity has a value in the estimation of the men, as is proved by the care with which the harems of a few of the most powerful chiefs are guarded. It might be thought that the framework of society would fall to pieces if domestic life were more immoral than this, but in point of fact a Tembu or a Kosa village is a scene of purity when compared with a kraal among the mountain tribes.

There it is a common occurrence for a chief to secure the services and adherence of a young man by the loan of one of his inferior wives either temporarily or permanently. In either case the children belong to the chief, who is regarded by the law as their father.

Another revolting custom of the mountain tribes is that of polyandrous marriages. A man who has not the requisite number of cattle to procure a wife, and whose father is too poor to help him, goes to a wealthy chief and obtains assistance on condition of having joint marital rights.

Among the coast tribes the institution of slavery does not exist, but there can be no more heartless slave-owners in the world than the Betshuana. To be weak with them is to be truly miserable. Their bondsmen are the descendants of

people scattered in former times by war, and who lost everything then but life.

The difference between these sections of the Bantu explains much of what occurred when they first came into collision. The warlike and vigorous men of the coast felt the most supreme contempt for their inland kinsmen, and had no more compunction in exterminating whole hordes of them than if they had been jackals or hyenas.

About the year 1783, or perhaps a little later, one of the inferior wives of Senzangakona, chief of the Zulu tribe, gave birth to a son who was destined to tower high in fame above all his contemporaries. He was named Tshaka. At the time of his birth the Zulu tribe, whose kraals were on the banks of the river Umvolosi, was small and without influence. It was not even independent, as it was tributary to the Abatetwa. The only reputation the Zulus had then acquired was that of being keen traffickers, expert pedlars of such wares as constituted the basis of commerce in South-Eastern Africa.

Tshaka grew up to be in person one of the handsomest of the well-formed men that composed his tribe. In all the feats of agility in which the youths of his people take so much delight he was unequalled, if native traditions are to be believed. At that time white men had no intercourse with any of the coast tribes beyond the Amakosa, and our knowledge of Tshaka's early life is therefore drawn entirely from native sources. But from 1824 to the date of his death he was frequently visited by Europeans. Among these, Messrs. F. G. Farewell, J. S. King, H. F. Fynn, and Nathaniel Isaacs have given accounts of him, and they all describe him in similar terms. In 1825 Mr. King wrote of him as 'upwards of six feet in height and well proportioned, the best pedestrian in the country, and exhibiting in his exercises the most astonishing activity.' He appeared then to be about thirty-six years of age, but he must have been older.

While Tshaka was still a youth he excited the jealousy of his father, and was compelled to flee for his life. He took refuge with Dingiswayo, chief of the Abatetwa, his father's

feudal lord. This Dingiswayo was a man who had gone through some curious adventures, and had seen some strange vicissitudes of fortune. In his younger days he had been suspected of treasonable designs against his father Jobe, and only escaped death by the devotion of one of his sisters. With her aid he managed to get away from the executioners who were sent to kill him, and then for many years he was lost sight of by his people. They believed him to be dead, instead of which he was wandering from tribe to tribe, until at length he reached the border of the Cape Colony. While he was there a military expedition was sent to the frontier, probably the one under General Vandeleur in 1799. If it was this one, the chief topic of conversation among the Amakosa would certainly be the engagement with Cungwa's clan, in which a few trained soldiers drove back a large body of Kosas and inflicted upon them tremendous loss. At any rate Dingiswayo came to hear something about the European military system, and he reflected a good deal upon what he heard.

Prior to this date the method of conducting war by all the South African tribes was very simple, but not very effective. The chiefs led their followers, and were obeyed by them, but the army was really an undisciplined mob. It was divided into two bands, the veterans who wore plumes, and the young men whose heads were bare. Each warrior was trained from early youth to the use of his weapons, but was never drilled to act in concert with his fellows or to perform the simplest military evolution. A campaign was a sudden swoop upon the enemy, and seldom lasted longer than a few days.

While Dingiswayo was gathering information Jobe died, and the Abatetwa, believing that the rightful heir had perished, raised the next in succession to be their chief. But by some means the wanderer came to hear of his father's death, and sent word to the tribe that he intended to return. The message was followed by news of his approach, and it was announced that he was mounted on an animal of wonderful strength, beauty, and speed. The Abatetwa had not

yet seen a horse, so that the excitement caused by their lost chief's return was considerably heightened by his making his appearance on the strange animal. There was no doubt as to his identity, and he was received with rapture by the majority of his late father's subjects. His brother made a feeble resistance, but was easily overcome and put to death.

Dingiswayo now set about turning the information he had gained to some account. He formed his men into regiments, and appointed officers of various grades to command them. When this was accomplished he made war upon his neighbours, but was satisfied with conquest, for, though ambitious, he was not particularly cruel.

Such was the chief under whose protection Tshaka placed himself. The Zulu refugee became a soldier in one of Dingiswayo's regiments, from which position he raised himself by courage and address to a situation of command.

When Senzangakona died the Zulus feared to acknowledge his legitimate heir as his successor, as by so doing they might displease their paramount lord. They therefore applied to Dingiswayo, who, trusting to the fidelity of Tshaka, nominated him to the vacant chieftainship. As long as Dingiswayo lived, Tshaka and he worked harmoniously together. But at length, in a skirmish with a tribe which he had made war upon, the chief of the Abatetwa was made prisoner, and was put to death by his captor.

The army then did what armies in such circumstances are prone to do: it raised its favourite general to supreme power. Tshaka now conceived schemes of conquest on a vast scale, and devised a much more perfect system of organisation and discipline than had before existed. The males of the united tribes with their vassals that acknowledged his sway were divided into regiments, each of which had its own kraal or portion of a kraal when several were stationed together. The soldiers were not permitted to marry without the consent of the chief, and this was only given to a regiment after long and meritorious services. The regiments were distinguished from each other by the pattern and colour

of their shields, and a spirit of emulation between them was encouraged and kept up by various devices.

As soon as a youth was fit to bear a shield he was required to join the army, and thereafter he had no companions but soldiers until the chief's permission to marry was obtained by his regiment. The practice of circumcision was abolished, as being useless now that another mark of manhood had taken its place. The army was provided with food mainly from herds captured in war, and the female portion of the community furnished what grain was needed. Constant drilling, reviews, and mock fights occupied the time of the soldiers when they were not engaged in actual war.

The weapon previously in use was the assagai, or light javelin, which was thrown at the enemy from a distance. Tshaka substituted for it a short-handled long-bladed spear, formed to cut or to stab. The warrior who returned from battle without his weapon forfeited his life. To protect his person, he carried an enormous shield of stout ox hide, upon which he received the assagais hurled against him.

The world has probably never seen men trained to more perfect obedience. The army became a vast machine, entirely under command of its head. There was no questioning, no delay, when an order was issued, for to presume upon either was to court instant death. Most extraordinary tasks were sometimes required of a regiment to prove its efficiency in this respect. At a review an order would sometimes be given which meant death to hundreds, and the jealousy between the regiments was so great that if one hesitated for a moment the others were ready to cut it down.

When attacking an enemy, the army was drawn up in two divisions. The one in advance was in the form of a crescent, the ends of which were termed the horns, the centre being known as the breast. The rear division was the reserve. Its formation was that of a square or parallelogram, and its place was behind the breast, as the best position from which to strengthen any weak point.

With an army of forty or fifty thousand men thus highly disciplined, Tshaka commenced a series of wars which did not terminate until between Delagoa Bay and the Umzimvubu river the only tribe left to withstand him was the Amaswazi, whose country abounded in natural strongholds in which they took refuge. He was not satisfied with mere conquest, in his opinion an enemy was not subdued unless it was exterminated. His soldiers were ordered utterly to destroy the people they marched against, to kill all the old and all the children of both sexes, to reserve none but a few lads to be their carriers and the comeliest girls who were to be brought to him. These orders were literally carried out. The tribes disappeared, and the country beyond the Zulu military kraals became a desert. A few only of the neighbouring clans saved themselves by begging to be incorporated with the Zulu power, and conforming in all respects to the Zulu system.

Tshaka governed his people with such cruelty as is hardly comprehensible by Europeans. Every one who displeased him in any way was put to death. All who approached him did so unarmed and in a crouching posture. He never admitted any woman to the rank of wife, though at his various places of residence over twelve hundred females were maintained. His custom was to distribute to his favourite officers such of these women as he no longer cared for, when their places were supplied by captives. To prevent rivalry by members of his own family, he allowed no son of his to live. And yet his people were devoted to him, so proud were they of the military fame which his genius had enabled them to acquire.

When Tshaka commenced his career, the lower terraces of the territory that is now the colony of Natal were the most densely peopled districts of South Africa. The soil was rich, the water plentiful, the climate such as the Bantu of the coast love. If the tribes there had united for defence, they might have succeeded in holding their own; but combination in time of danger, apparently so natural, is seldom resorted to by barbarians. Frequently, on account of some

petty jealousy, they rejoice at the downfall of neighbours, and lack foresight to see that their own turn will come next. It was so with the tribes of the country that is now the colony of Natal. One after another they were attacked, and though several of them fought desperately, all were overpowered and ruined. Some instances of obstinate defence by isolated parties are still preserved in the memory of the aged, of which the following may serve as a specimen :

Umjoli, chief of the Abasekunene, had taken to wife a woman named Gubela, of the Amabele tribe. She was a person of most courageous disposition, and as her husband's character was just the reverse, she placed herself at the head of his warriors, and resolved to die rather than flee. For a long time she succeeded in defending herself and the portion of the tribe that adhered to her, for after her first achievements she separated from her craven husband, and the people were divided between them. Her name soon grew so famous that a song was composed in her honour, two lines of which read as follows :—

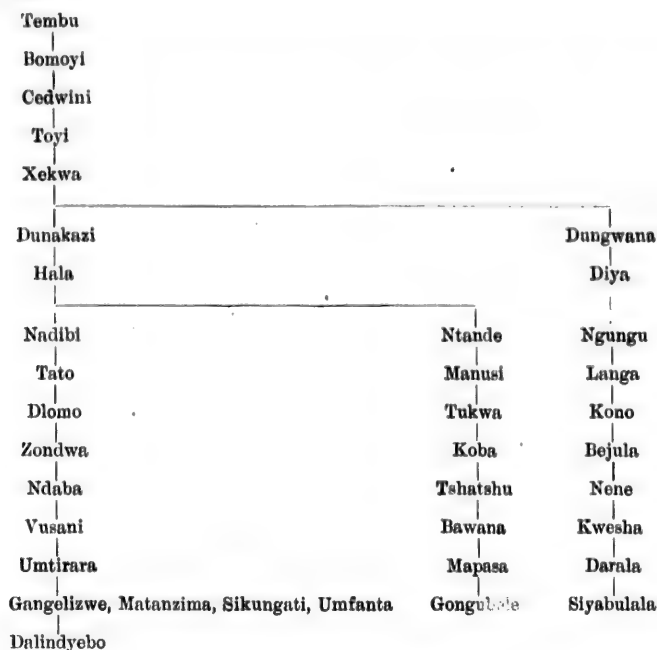
At Gubela's they don't use bars to kraals, (i.e. cattle-folds)
But for gates make heaps of heads of men.

Valour, however, did not prevail, and in the end Gubela's people shared the fate of all the rest.

A horde of fugitives gradually made their way along the second terrace above the coast, fighting at one place, resting for months at another, until they reached the Umgwali river.

The Tembu tribe at that time occupied the district near the sea between the Bashee and Umtata rivers, but one of its offshoots had wandered away to the north-west, and had settled on the eastern bank of the Tsomo. Between this party of wanderers and the Galeka branch of the Kosas there was a close alliance ever since Kawuta, father of Hintsa, had taken as his great wife a daughter of Tshatshu, chief of those people. Upon Kawuta's death, this woman, assisted by two councillors, governed the Galekas during the minority of her son Hintsa.

The Tembus were similar in every respect to the Kosas, except that the latter had a small mixture of Hottentot blood in their veins. Their antiquaries maintain that the two tribes were originally one people, and some of them give the name of a chief from whom the ruling families of both are descended, but others dispute the genealogy beyond Tembu. The line from him is agreed upon by all, and is as follows :



At the time of the occurrences related in this chapter the paramount chief of the tribe was Vusani, or Ngubencuka as he was sometimes called from the hyena-skin robe which he wore (ingubo=a robe, incuka=a hyena).

Between the Tsomo and the Indwe rivers there were a few scattered kraals of Kosas, under petty captains acknowledging Hintsa as their chief. West of the Indwe there

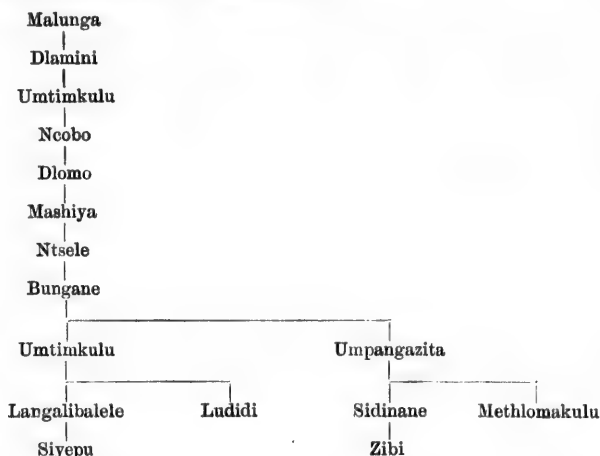
were no Bantu whatever, the only occupants of the territory between that river and the Zwart Kei—the colonial boundary—being roving Bushmen, except when a farmer from the Tarka occasionally drove his cattle there for change of pasture.

The horde that has been mentioned as coming down from the north after the death of Gubela was under a chief named Madikane, whom rumour described as a giant covered with hair, and with nails like the talons of eagles. Madikane was resting and feasting on spoil near the source of the Umgwali river, when before daylight on the morning of the 20th of December 1824 he was attacked by a combined force of Tembus and Kosas led by Vusani and Hintsu. During the morning Madikane was killed, and his followers were turning to flee, when it rapidly became so dark that some stars appeared. The Tembus and Kosas dispersed in great terror, believing the darkness to be caused by the death of the formidable chief. They had not got far when the sun began to shine again. It is this event that enables us to fix the date with precision, as on the 20th of December 1824 an eclipse of the sun—nearly total—took place.

After the death of Madikane his horde dispersed, and its fragments settled down in a condition of vassalage among the Kosas and Tembus. So did remnants of the Amabele, the Amazizi, the Amahlubi, and a few other tribes of less note, who managed to escape by fleeing southward, some before, some after the event just related. Their descendants are the Fingos of the present day. The Amabaca, now living between the Umzimkulu and Tina rivers, are descendants of the remains of another fugitive tribe. The only people left in the greater part of the present colony of Natal were the remnants of a few clans who concealed themselves in thickets, and some of whom adopted cannibalism as a means of existence.

One section of the Amahlubi demands particular notice. The original home of this tribe was the district between the Buffalo and Tugela rivers, where they were living in the year 1820. Their great chief at that time was named Bungane,

and as from him some men have descended who have played an important part in South African history, a genealogical table of the family is here given :



The Amahlubi were not attacked directly by Tshaka's armies, but by Matiwane, chief of the Amangwane, who was himself endeavouring to escape from the Zulu spear. The Amahlubi were driven from their homes with dreadful slaughter, in which their great chief Bungane and his principal son Umtinkulu both perished. Some clans of the defeated tribe, under Umpangazita, the second son of Bungane in rank, endeavoured to escape by crossing the mountains to the westward. An incident strikingly illustrative of savage life caused them to set their faces in this direction. Some fifteen or eighteen months previously a quarrel had taken place between Umpangazita and his brother-in-law Motsholi, who thereupon left the Hlubi country with two or three thousand followers, and took refuge with the Batlokua. The chief Mokotsho was then dead, and his widow, Ma Ntatisi, was acting as regent during the minority of her son Sikonyela.

Ma Ntatisi received Motsholi with hospitality, and for

about a twelvemonth the intercourse between the Batlokua and the strangers was of a friendly nature. But Motsholi, when visiting Ma Ntatisi, would never partake of food presented to him, and was always accompanied by some of his own followers carrying provisions for his use. He assigned as a reason that what was offered to him was the food of the deceased Mokotsho, as if he would say that he suspected Ma Ntatisi of having caused Mokotsho's death by poison, and feared to eat what she prepared lest he might share the same fate. This came at length to be considered a gross insult by the regent and her people.

In the winter of 1821 Sikonyela, then about sixteen or seventeen years of age, was circumcised, when he determined to notify his entrance into the state of manhood by a deed becoming a warrior. With a band of youthful adherents he fell by stealth upon Motsholi, killed him and about twenty of his people, and drove off the cattle. The murderer chief wore a necklace without a fastening, and to obtain this Sikonyela cut off his head.

Some of the adherents of Motsholi fled to Umpangazita, and informed him of what had taken place. It was just then that the Amahlubi were compelled to leave their own country. Umpangazita thereupon resolved to demand with the assagai the restoration of the well-known necklace from the treacherous Batlokua, and to avenge the death of his brother-in-law while escaping from his own antagonist. It is owing to this circumstance that the interior tribes accuse the Batlokua of being the cause of the wars of extermination west of the Drakensberg.

The Amahlubi were closely followed by the Amangwane, and so hot was the pursuit that the aged and feeble with thousands of helpless children were of necessity abandoned on the way, that the more vigorous might escape. They crossed the Drakensberg and fell upon the Batlokua, who were dispersed and compelled to abandon all their possessions. The whole of the tribes living along the streams which flow into the upper Vaal were then driven from their homes. In one great horde they fled northward, and, cross-

ing the Vaal, fell upon the inhabitants of the southern portion of the present South African Republic. Their principal leader was named Tshuane, but the one whose fame has been most widely spread was Ma Ntatisi, the chieftainess of the Batlokua. From her the whole horde, though composed of the remnants of numerous tribes, has ever since been known as the Mantati destroyers.

After crossing the river, the Mantatis turned to the north-west, and created awful havoc with the tribes in their line of march. As each was overcome, its cattle and grain were devoured, and then the murderous host passed on to the next. Their strength was partly kept up by incorporating captives in the usual manner, but vast numbers of the invaders, especially of women and children, left their bones mingled with those of the people they destroyed. Twenty-eight distinct tribes are believed to have disappeared, leaving not so much as a trace of their former existence, before the Mantatis received a check. Then Makaba, chief of the Bangwaketsi, taking advantage of an opportunity when they were encamped in two divisions at a distance from each other, fell upon them unawares, defeated them, and compelled them to turn to the south.

In this direction, the Barolong lay in their route. These they dispersed and drove into the desert, and then they fell upon the Batlapin. They took possession of Lithako, the second Batlapin kraal in importance, and were about to march to Kuruman, when they were attacked by a body of Griquas under Andries Waterboer, Adam Kok, and Barend Barends, 26th of June 1823. Being mounted and provided with firearms, the Griquas easily secured a victory, without loss to themselves. After this second defeat, the Mantati horde broke up into several sections.

One of these went northward, destroying the tribes in its course, and years afterwards was found by Dr. Livingstone on a branch of the Zambezi. It was then known as the Makololo, and its chief was the celebrated Sebetoane.

Another section returned to the Caledon, and under Ma Ntatisi and her son Sikonyela took an active part in the

devastation of the country along that river. The people composing this branch of the Mantati horde were of various clans, but henceforth they were all called Batlokua, as their chief was originally the head of the tribe of that name.

Some smaller bands wandered about destroying until they were themselves destroyed.

One band, a section of the Bataung, under the chief Molitsane, moved up and down the wasted country for years.

Excepting these and a clan of the Bataung under a chief named Makwana, who managed to hide away for a time, the whole of the original Bantu inhabitants of the northern half of the present Orange Free State passed out of existencé.

After this, the Amahlubi and the Amangwane, still fighting with each other, fell upon the country occupied by the five tribes of the Mayiane, Makhoakhoa, Bamonageng, Batlakoana, and Baramokhele. At that moment, just when these tribes most needed an able head, there was not a single man of note among them. Motlomi, chief of the Bamonageng, whose name is still held in great veneration by the Basuto, exercised paramount power over them all during his lifetime, but he died in 1814 or 1815, and there was no one of sufficient ability to take his place. It was therefore not as one strong determined people that the five tribes met the torrent of invasion, but as little bands, each trying to hold its own, without a common plan of action.

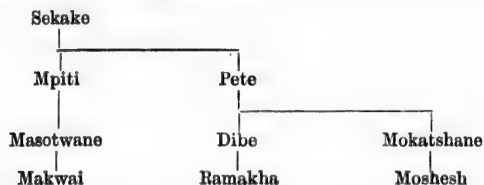
Vast numbers of people of all ages died by the club and assagai. In a short time the cattle were eaten up, and as the gardens ceased to be cultivated, a terrible famine arose. Thousands, tens of thousands, of people perished of starvation, other thousands fled from the wasted land, and many of those who remained behind became cannibals. It is impossible to form an estimate of the number of individuals belonging to the mountain tribes who perished at this time. The losses of the Batlokua alone can be approximately computed. They were reduced from about one hundred and thirty thousand to fourteen or fifteen thousand, only a small proportion of the loss being from dispersion. If the destruction of human beings in what is now the Lesuto, and in the

north-east of the present Free State, be estimated at three hundred thousand, that number must be greatly under the mark. And on the other side of the mountains at least half a million had perished. Compared with this, the total loss of human life occasioned by all the wars in South Africa in which Europeans have engaged since first they set foot in the country sinks into insignificance.

While these devastations were taking place, a young man, son of a petty chief of the Baramokhele, began to attract attention. His name was Moshesh. His family was one of so little note that in a country where the genealogies of men of rank have been carefully handed down for twelve or fifteen generations, antiquarians cannot trace his lineage with absolute certainty beyond his great grandfather. Some of them indeed, since Moshesh's rise, pretend to give the names of several of his more remote ancestors, but these names are disputed by others, and all that is generally agreed to is that the family was in some way related by marriage to the ruling house of the Bamonageng. Certainty begins with Sekake, a petty chief who died about the middle of last century, leaving a son named Mpiti.

If the custom of his people had been followed, after Sekake's death his brothers should have taken his widows; but either by accident or design his great wife fell to one of his friends who was a stranger, being a native of the coast region. By this man the woman had a son, who was named Pete. According to European ideas, Pete would certainly have no claim to represent Sekake, but his mother having been Sekake's wife, by Bantu custom he was considered Sekake's son. His elder brother Mpiti was, however, held to be the heir. Pete lived until the year 1823, when he was killed and eaten by cannibals. He left two sons, Dibe the elder, and Mokatshane the younger. About the year 1793 Mokatshane's wife gave birth to a son, who, on attaining manhood, took the name of Moshesh, and subsequently became the most prominent individual in the mountain land. Moshesh was thus by birth only the heir of a younger son of a younger son 'by cattle' of a petty chief, a position of very

little note indeed. The following genealogical table will show his descent at a glance:—



Many years later, the official praisers, a class of men who attend upon every native chief, related that Motlomi, the last paramount ruler of the five tribes, had named Moshesh as his successor, and had predicted his future greatness; but their statement rested upon flattery alone. Motlomi was dead long before Moshesh had an opportunity of emerging from obscurity.

The family of Mokatshane was a large one. Among his sons who were born after Moshesh were Makhabane, Poshuli, Mohali, Moperi, and Lelosa.

Moshesh first saw the light at Lintshuaneng, on the Tlotsi, where his father's clan was living. He grew up to be a man of commanding appearance, attractive in features, and well formed in body. In his youth he was an ardent hunter of the elands and other large animals that were then to be found at no great distance from his home, and this exercise developed his strength and activity.

Upon the invasion of his country, Moshesh, then a vigorous young man of eight or nine and twenty years, collected a party of warriors, chiefly his former companions in the chase, and made a stand at the strong position of Butabute. There he held his own for a considerable time, but in the winter of 1824 he was attacked by Ma Ntatisi, and was driven away, when his followers were brought to great distress. He then removed some distance to the south-west and took possession of Thaba Bosigo, a mountain so formed by nature as to be a fortress of great strength, and which has never yet been occupied by a foe. None, a Baphuti chief, had a kraal at the foot of the hill, but he was

plundered of his provisions by Moshesh's chief warrior, Makoniane, and was then driven away by the new-comers.

Moshesh now conducted various expeditions against the Batlokua and the Amahlubi, and owing to the skill with which his plans were formed, he was invariably successful. His fame as a military strategist rapidly spread, and from all parts of the mountain land men came to Thaba Bosigo to join him. With an impregnable stronghold in his possession, in which the families and effects of his retainers were secure, it was easy for the rising chief to make sudden forays, and fall upon his enemies at unguarded points. Each successful expedition brought new adherents, until the Basuto of Moshesh became a strong party, devoted to their leader. For two or three years the Amangwane were the most powerful people in the country, and during this time Moshesh paid court to their chief, professing to be his vassal, and paying him tribute from the spoil taken in his excursions.

After a time the most formidable of the invaders perished or left the ravished country. A great battle was fought on the banks of the Caledon between Umpangazita, or Pakalita as he was called by the Basuto, and Matiwane, in which the Hlubis were defeated with great slaughter. The chief and those who escaped fled to a mountain, but were followed by the enemy, and driven from the stronghold. In the last stand that they made, near Lishuane, Umpangazita was killed. Most of the young men were then taken to be carriers for the Amangwane. Such as remained placed themselves under the protection of Moshesh, and with his consent settled in the district of Mekuatling. These people and their descendants, together with some fragments of the Amangwane and other tribes subsequently broken, are the Fingos of recent Basuto history.

After the destruction of the Hlubis, an army sent by Tshaka fell upon Matiwane, who was defeated and compelled to flee. Crossing the Orange river and the Kathlamba mountains in a southerly direction, he attacked the Tembus.

On the 24th of August 1827 despatches from the landdrost

of Somerset reached Capetown, informing the acting governor that a body of Tembus about three thousand strong had been driven over the Zwart Kei river into the colony by an invading force from the interior. The Tembus, who were under the chief Bawana, professed to be seeking protection; but the damage which they were doing was little less than if they had been avowed enemies. The landdrost stated that he had gone with a small escort to ascertain something about the people before whom Bawana had fled, but had been observed by them, had been pursued, and had made his escape with difficulty. The troops on the border were marching to the scene of disturbance, and the landdrost had called out a commando of farmers.

General Bourke immediately proceeded to the frontier, travelling with such speed that he reached Grahamstown on the 1st of September. There he was informed that the invaders had retired from the Tembu country, after devastating a large portion of it. He therefore issued instructions for the troops to return to their cantonments, and for the disbandment of the burgher commando. The Amangwane had not gone far from the Tembu country, however, as was afterwards ascertained. The horde had merely ceased plundering and destroying, and had settled for a season on the eastern bank of the Umtata to enjoy the spoil it had acquired.

General Bourke proceeded from Grahamstown to the district which the Tembus had overrun, and had an interview with Bawana. The chief was unwilling to return to his own country, but after some discussion he promised to retire from the colony. This promise he did not carry out, and indeed at that time he was unable to do so, owing to Matiwane's presence on the Umtata. In this condition the matter remained for a twelvemonth.

In 1828 a powerful Zulu force marched southward through Kaffirland, and was posted on the 21st of July about eighteen miles beyond the Bashee. Vusani and Hintsa, paramount chiefs of the Tembus and Kosas, assembled their warriors, and to support these chiefs and

prevent an invasion of the colony, Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, commandant of the frontier, moved towards the Kei with a force of a thousand men, consisting of troops and burghers hastily summoned from the districts of Graaff-Reinet, Uitenhage, Albany, and Somerset.

Upon receipt of this information, the acting governor sent instructions to Major Dundas, landdrost of Albany, to endeavour to obtain an interview with Tshaka, who was reported to be leading his army in person, and persuade him to return to his own country by informing him that his progress would be opposed by the colonial forces.

Without waiting for instructions, Major Dundas with an escort of twenty-four Albany farmers had in the mean time proceeded into Tembuland to ascertain further particulars. On the 26th of July he was present and took part in an engagement between Vusani's Tembus and a small party of Matiwane's people, in which the latter were routed, and a number of cattle were recovered.

It was so difficult to obtain correct intelligence that both Major Dundas and Colonel Somerset believed the defeated force to have been Tshaka's Zulus, and on the 2nd of August, in consequence of this mistake, the commando retired from the bank of the Kei. On the 4th messengers from Vusani and Hintsa reached the retreating troops and burghers, and informed them of their error, when they at once turned about, and marched towards the Bashee.

On the morning of the 27th of August Colonel Somerset sent an interpreter with an escort to hold a parley with a body of men estimated by him to be over twenty thousand in number and supposed to be Zulus. The interpreter was not allowed to approach closely, and his escort was attacked and driven back. This brought on a general engagement, which lasted several hours, and which ended in the Amangwane being utterly routed, without any loss to the Europeans. After their defeat, the Tembus and Kosas fell upon them and nearly exterminated the once powerful tribe. The battle was principally fought by regular troops. Only one hundred and twenty burghers, under Commandant

Durand, took part in it, as a strong division of farmers, under Commandant Van Wyk, had been previously sent in another direction. Matiwane with a few warriors fled northward to Dingan, Tshaka's successor, in hope of being favourably received by him. But they were terribly mistaken. Dingan caused the eyes of the fallen chief to be put out, and then left him to die of starvation. Some of his followers were killed with clubs, others had their necks twisted. The Amangwane that were left in Kaffirland then lost their distinguishing name, and were absorbed in other tribes, some of them even becoming mixed with the Fingos of the frontier.

A searching inquiry was now made, when it was found that Tshaka accompanied his forces as far as the Umzinkulu, where he fixed his headquarters for a time. One of his regiments then laid the Pondo country waste, and the remainder of the army proceeded westward to plunder the Tembus and Kosas. But before the defeat of the Amangwane that army had returned to Zululand. Mr. Henry Fynn, who visited Tshaka on the Umzinkulu, claimed afterwards that the Zulu forces were withdrawn by his advice. At any rate, the colonial commando did not encounter them.

After the retirement of the Zulus and the destruction of the Amangwane, Bawana's people—termed since these events the emigrant Tembus—were induced to leave the Tarka. Being strengthened by other refugees, they spread themselves thinly over the whole territory between the Stormberg on the north and the Winterberg on the south, from the Indwe to the Zwart Kei and Klaas Smit's rivers.

We return now to the territory north of the Orange. The departure of the Amangwane was followed by the retirement of Tshaka's army, which had defeated them. There was thus an opportunity for the remnants of the mountain tribes to form themselves again into communities, and they availed themselves of it. Some of them joined the Batlokua, who, reduced to one-eighth or one-tenth of their original number, settled along the upper Caledon, and began to

resume the occupations of an agricultural and pastoral people. Sikonyela, son of Ma Ntatisi, was their recognised chief; but his mother, who was considered a person of ability, still exercised supreme control over the tribe.

A much greater number joined the band whose stronghold was Thaba Bosigo. The government of Moshesh was mild, and he had sufficient wisdom and prudence to spare and protect all who submitted to him, whether they had been previously friendly or hostile. Even parties of cannibals left their caves, placed themselves under him, and began again to cultivate the ground. By a couple of successful forays upon some Tembu clans below the mountains, he acquired considerable wealth in cattle. Most of the adult individuals of high rank among the mountain tribes had perished, so there was no obstacle to the people adopting as their head the young chief, whose abilities as a ruler as well as a military leader were soon widely recognised. Moshesh thus became the central figure round whom the scattered and impoverished Basuto rallied, with a view of recovering and retaining the territory that had been occupied by their fathers, or, more correctly, a portion of that territory, together with the district between it and the Orange river, which had been previously inhabited partly by the Baphuti, but chiefly by Bushmen. He had already become by conquest the paramount chief of the clans of mixed blood termed the Baphuti.

About the beginning of last century a band of refugees calling themselves Bamaru, or people of the clouds, migrated from Zululand to the country south of Thaba Bosigo. These people adopted Basuto customs and intermarried with the Bamonageng, by whom they were termed Mapethla, or the pioneers.

After the establishment of the Bamaru, some Bahalanga, or people of the sun, crossed the mountains from the district that is now Natal, bringing hoes and red ochre to exchange for peltries. These Bahalanga were of the Amazizi tribe. They took back such a favourable account of the country that a party of their friends resolved to migrate to it, and

accordingly left their ancestral home on the head waters of the Tugela and established themselves in the neighbourhood of the present Morija. These immigrants were under the leadership of a chief from whom the late Morosi traced his descent. They also, like the Mapethla, mixed freely with the tribes to the northward, intermarried with them, and adopted their customs. In course of time the descendants of these immigrants spread over the district between Thaba Bosigo and the Orange river, remaining, however, politically independent of their neighbours. By these they were termed Baphuti.

At the time of the great invasion, the Bamaru dispersed in the Cape Colony, but the chief Mokuane and his son Morosi went no farther than the present district of Quthing, on the left bank of the Orange river, where they established themselves.

Early in 1825 a band of Basuto under command of Mohali, a brother of Moshesh, fell upon the Baphuti and plundered them of nearly everything they possessed, carrying off even their women and children. Some of these were subsequently redeemed with beads, but others were taken as captives to Thaba Bosigo. A few months later Mokuane made submission to Moshesh, and was received by that rising chief as a vassal. In the tribute which on this occasion he paid was a famous yellow ox of immense size, with horns artificially trained to meet over its nose, the transfer of which was regarded by the contracting parties in the same light as civilised nations would look upon the affixing of seals to a formal treaty. When this was accomplished, the prisoners were restored to their relatives.

From that time Moshesh was regarded as the supreme chief of the Baphuti, and consequently the territorial lord of the land on which they lived. Somewhat later the scattered members of the Bamaru returned from the different parts of the colony where they had taken refuge, placed themselves under Mokuane, and became incorporated with his people. Thenceforth they also took the name of Baphuti.

The first wave of invasion that rolled over the mountain

land had now spent itself, and where numerous tribes living in plenty had once been, there were left only a few wretched Bataung under Makwana between the Vet and Sand rivers, the Batlokua under Sikonyela on the upper Caledon, and the remnants of all the rest gathered together under Mosheshe, whose seat of government was the stronghold of Thaba Bosigo. The Batlokua and Bataung had as much right as the others to be termed Basuto, but to avoid confusion that title is now usually applied only to the last named division. To prevent the chief of the Zulus sending an army into the country, Mosheshe professed to be his most obedient vassal, and appeased him by sending frequent subsidies of plumes and peltries.

The wave of war that followed spent its chief fury upon the tribes inhabiting the territory now comprised in the South African Republic, but it did not altogether spare the mountain people. We are now to make the acquaintance of the terrible Umsilikazi, whose fame as an exterminator of men ranks second only to that of Tshaka.

His father, Matshobane by name, had been in his early years an independent chief, but to save himself and his people from annihilation he had voluntarily sought admission into the Zulu tribe. After his death his son became a favourite with Tshaka, and was raised in time to the command of a large and important division of the Zulu army. In person he was tall and well-formed, with searching eyes and agreeable features. The traveller Harris described him in 1836 as being then about forty years of age, though, as he was totally beardless, it was difficult to form a correct estimate. His head was closely shorn, except where the elliptical ring, the distinguishing mark of the Zulu tribe, was left. His dress consisted merely of a girdle or cord round the waist, from which hung suspended a number of leopard's tails; and as ornaments he wore a single string of small blue beads round his neck and three green feathers from the tail of a parrot upon his head. Such in appearance was Umsilikazi, or Moselekatse as he was called by the Betshuana.

He had acquired the devoted attachment of that portion of the Zulu army under his command, when about the year 1817 a circumstance occurred which left him no choice but flight. After a successful onslaught upon a tribe which he was sent to exterminate, he neglected to forward the whole of the booty to his master, and Tshaka, enraged at the disrespect thus shown by his former favourite, despatched a great army with orders to put him and all his adherents to death. These, receiving intimation of their danger in time, immediately crossed the mountains and began to lay waste the centre of the country that is now the South African Republic.

The numerous tribes whose remnants form the Bapedi of our times looked with dismay upon the athletic forms of the Matabele, as they termed the invaders. They had never before seen discipline so perfect as that of these naked braves, or weapon so deadly as the Zulu stabbing spear. All who could not make their escape were exterminated, except the comeliest girls and some of the young men who were kept to carry burdens. These last were led to hope that by faithful service they might attain the position of soldiers, and from them Moselekatse filled up the gaps that occurred from time to time in his ranks. The country over which he marched was covered with skeletons, and literally no human beings were left in it, for his object was to place a great desert between Tshaka and himself. When he considered himself at a safe distance from his old home he halted, erected military kraals after the Zulu pattern, and from them as a centre commenced to send his regiments out north, south, and west to gather spoil.

It is impossible to give the number of Moselekatse's warriors, but it was probably not greater than twenty thousand.¹

¹ The highest estimate of the number of the Matabele is that given by Messrs. Scoon and Luckie, two traders who visited Moselekatse in 1829. They computed the tribe at eighty thousand souls, in which the proportion of children was of course very small. The substance of a diary kept by them was published by Mr. John Centlivres Chase in the *South African Quarterly Journal* for July-September 1830. In the same year the reverend Mr. Archbell visited Moselekatse. He estimated the number of the Matabele at sixty to eighty thousand. The lower of these numbers is the estimate of other travellers.

Fifty of them were a match for more than five hundred Betshuana. They pursued these wretched creatures even when there was no plunder to be had, and slew many thousands in mere wantonness, in exactly the same spirit and with as little compunction as a sportsman shoots snipe.

It was many years later when the Matabele bands first found their way to the Lesuto. After a few visits in search of plunder, in 1831 an army sent by Moselekatse besieged Thaba Bosigo, but could not capture the stronghold. When the besiegers were compelled by want of food to retreat, Moshesh sent them provisions for their homeward journey, with a message that he desired to live in peace with all men. They went away singing his praises, and never appeared in the Lesuto again, though they kept its people in a state of constant fear.

At this time the country along the Orange was infested by Griqua and Korana marauders. These vagabonds would have been altogether despicable if they had not been mounted on horses and armed with guns, animals and weapons not as yet possessed by the followers of Moshesh. They belonged to the Hottentot race, a people physically inferior to the Basuto, and below them in civilisation. Bands of Griquas and Koranas were in the habit of swooping down upon parts of the Lesuto where they were least expected, and carrying off whatever they took a fancy to. The assagai and battle-axe afforded no protection to the victims of these raids against the firearms of the plunderers. Men and women were shot down without pity, often through a mere passion for cruelty, and children were carried off to serve their captors as slaves. To ravages of this nature the Basuto were subject for some years, until the Griqua robber-bands were exterminated or dispersed among communities living farther to the westward, and the Koranas suffered reverses which taught them to respect their neighbours.

About the time of the last Matabele inroad, wonderful accounts were beginning to be told in the Lesuto of the great power of certain people called missionaries. Ten years earlier, or about the close of 1821, Moshesh had first seen white men,

a party of colonial hunters, among whom were Messrs. Gerrit Kruger and Paul Bester, having penetrated to the banks of the Caledon and met him there. These hunters had been eye-witnesses of the terrible sufferings of the Basuto at that time, they had even seen instances of cannibalism, and they had been so affected that they distributed whatever food they could spare, and shot all the game they could reach for the starving people. Conduct like this, so different from the actions of men of his own colour, had created a favourable opinion regarding Europeans in the mind of Moshesh. From this date onward white men occasionally visited the country along the Caledon for hunting purposes, and their intercourse with the Basuto was of such a nature as to confirm the first impressions of the chief.

The accounts of the missionaries which reached the Lesuto about 1831 were to the effect that they were not only benevolent, courageous, and provided with terribly destructive weapons like other white men, but that they possessed magical powers. In short, they were believed to be the medicine-men of the Europeans. When an individual among the southern Bantu wishes to gain the favour of a chief, he fumigates himself with the smoke of a certain root before making his appearance, in the belief that it will cause the heart of the chief to open to him. The stories told of the reverend Mr. Moffat, missionary among the Batlapin at Kuruman, led to the belief that he possessed a knowledge of some exceedingly powerful medicine of this kind. About the close of 1829 he had visited Moselekatse, who was then living some hundred miles east of Mosega, and had acquired such influence over that dreaded conqueror that when during the following two years the Bahurutsi, Bangwaketsi, Bakwena, Barolong, and other Betschuana tribes were nearly exterminated by the Matabele, the Batlapin were spared. The Basuto concluded that Mr. Moffat could only obtain such influence by means of magic, and they became most anxious to obtain a missionary who would impart such valuable knowledge to them. They were told also of the astonishing effects produced by missionaries at Griquatow, and Philippolis.

The wild, savage Griquas, most of them wanderers who knew nothing of agriculture, people who were without property or law, had been collected together at these places, and had become comparatively wealthy communities, formidable by reason of their possession of horses and guns.

Moshesh acted in this matter exactly as a chief to-day would act if he desired to obtain the services of a reputed powerful rainmaker, resident in the territory of another chief. He sent two hundred head of cattle to Adam Kok, the captain of Philippolis, with a request that he might be supplied with a missionary in return. On the way the cattle were seized by a band of Korana marauders, but the circumstance came to the ears of the reverend Dr. Philip, superintendent of the London society's missions in South Africa, who was then on a tour of inspection, and it led to one of the most important events in the history of Moshesh's tribe, the establishment of missionaries of the Paris evangelical society in the Lesuto.

The first missionaries of this society arrived in South Africa in 1829. They were three in number. One of them, the reverend Mr. Bisseux, took up his residence at Wellington, in the Cape Colony; and the other two, the reverend Messrs. Samuel Rolland and Prosper Lemue, proceeded to the Betshuana country, and endeavoured to found a station at Mosega, which was then occupied by the Bahurutsi tribe under the chief Mokatla. On their way they were joined by the reverend Jean Pierre Pellissier, who had followed them from France. Their stay at Mosega was brief. The advance of Moselekatse and the destruction of the Betshuana compelled them to abandon that part of the country, and they then founded a station at Motito, not far from Kuruman, where they collected together a number of fugitives from the north. Mokatla with a remnant of his people fled away to Taung, on the Hart river.

Meantime two clergymen, Messrs. Eugene Casalis and Thomas Arbousset, and a missionary artisan, Mr. Constant Gosselin, were on their way out to reinforce the station at Mosega among the Bahurutsi. On their arrival at Capetown

they learned what had transpired in the interior, and on Dr. Philip's recommendation they turned their attention to Moshesh's country. In June 1833 these missionaries reached Thaba Bosigo, and were warmly welcomed by Moshesh, who gave them permission to settle wherever they chose. They selected a fertile and well-watered valley about twenty-five miles from Thaba Bosigo, and there established a station which they named Morija. The valley when they first visited it was uninhabited, but Moshesh sent some members of his own family, among whom were his sons Letsie and Molapo, with a large party of people, to reside close to the white men and be instructed by them.

The subjects of Moshesh were very willing to learn from strangers the arts which made the white men so rich and so powerful. Their views, of course, were at first limited to potent charms and medicines as the principal means of advancement; but they showed that they were not deficient in brain power, so that the missionaries had good hope of being able to raise them speedily in the scale of civilisation.

Messrs. Arbousset, Casalis, and Gosselin found the strip of country about thirty or forty miles in width along the north-western side of the Caledon, from about latitude 29° to $29^{\circ} 30'$, thinly inhabited by Basuto. On the opposite or south-eastern side of the river, a similar belt, extending to the Maluti or Peaked mountains, was much more thickly peopled, though its inhabitants were few compared with the number reached at a later date. Game of many kinds was abundant, which of itself was proof of a sparse and poorly armed population. Along the head waters of the Caledon the Batlokua were living, between whom and the Basuto of Moshesh there was a bitter feeling of enmity.

At nearly the same time the reverend Mr. Pellissier, finding that the services of three missionaries were not needed at Motito, was looking for a suitable site farther south for another station. Mr. Clark, one of the London society's teachers, had been for some time engaged in a fruitless effort to instruct some Bushmen and to induce them to settle permanently at a place just below the confluence of

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the Caledon and the Orange. Dr. Philip transferred the so-called Bushman school to Mr. Pellissier, who named the place Bethulie, and induced a fugitive Batlapin clan from the neighbourhood of Kuruman, under the chief Lepui, to settle there. These were afterwards joined by some refugee Barolong. Bethulie was not peopled by Basuto, nor was a claim to its ground ever made by Moshesh, but from this date there was a close connection between it and the stations of the French society in the Lesuto.

A few months later the population of the country along the western bank of the Caledon opposite Thaba Bosigo was largely increased by the arrival of several bands of refugees under the leadership of some Wesleyan missionaries. The settlement of these people makes it necessary to give an account of the Barolong tribe.

According to the traditions of the Barolong, their ancestors nineteen generations ago migrated from a country in the far north. They were then under a chief named Morolong, from whom the tribe has its name. The country which they left was a mountainous and well-watered land, where the sun at one season of the year was seen on their right when they looked towards the east. This description corresponds fairly well with the region of the great lakes, and if a quarter of a century be allowed as the average length of a chief's rule, the Barolong left it about the year 1400 of our reckoning.

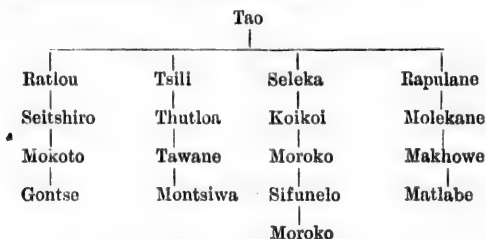
Exactly as in the case of the Kosas on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, it is not the first chief of the tribe, but one of his immediate descendants, who is the great hero of their legends. What Tshawe is to the Amakosa, Noto, the son of Morolong, is to the Barolong. It was he who taught his people the use of iron for weapons of war and the chase, who gave them the hoe as an implement of agriculture, and who adorned their persons with metal trinkets. These legends prove that the traditions of the tribes are not chronologically accurate, for it is certain that the use of iron was known to the ancestors of the Amakosa, Barolong, Basuto, &c., before their separation.

During four generations the tribe was migrating southward, but then it reached the Molopo, and fixed its permanent residence in the region which is half encircled by that stream. At this time the Bahurutsi separated from the main branch, and became independent. And now during the government of many successive chiefs, all of whose names have been preserved, the tribe enjoyed peace and became constantly stronger and wealthier. Occasionally a swarm would migrate eastward or northwestward, but this loss was more than made good by accessions of destitute alien clans.

In the time of Tao (the lion), fourteenth in descent from Morolong, the tribe reached the zenith of its greatness. Its outposts extended from the Molopo southward to the junction of the Hart and Vaal rivers, and from the desert eastward to Schoon Spruit. This extensive region was not occupied solely by the Barolong and their dependents. There were in it Betshuana clans who did not acknowledge their supremacy, independent hordes of Koranas with whom the Barolong were frequently at war, and numerous Bushmen, the real aborigines. It is frequently the case that Bantu tribes, though quite independent of each other, live with their clans intermingled. Their government in such cases is more tribal than territorial. It is only when the white man comes to interfere with them that they desire to have boundary lines laid down. Then, naturally, each independent chief claims the whole region in which his adherents are living, and immediately contentions arise. In this way the Barolong of the present day maintain that the country of Tao was that bounded by his most distant outposts, which when reduced to geographical terms, means the Molopo on the north, the Vaal on the south, Schoon Spruit on the east, and the Kalahari desert on the west.

Tao died at Taung, on the Hart river, about the year 1760, and with him the power of the Barolong ended. Feebleness of character in his descendants of the great line, untimely deaths, and personal feuds combined to break up the tribe. Civil war followed, and the next generation witnessed a number of clans, each really independent of the

rest, though all admitted a supremacy of rank in the house of Ratlou. The line of descent of those chiefs who have since attained celebrity is as follows :



It was not alone a division of the Barolong proper that followed the death of Tao, but the adopted clans took advantage of the favourable opportunity, and made themselves independent. Among these were the Batlapin, who occupied the southern part of the country. From this time until 1823 the different divisions of the Barolong were continually moving about from place to place, and it was seldom that all the sections were at peace.

In 1817 the London society founded the mission station of Kuruman with the Batlapin, who were then under the chief Mothidi, and absolutely independent. In 1821 the reverend Robert Moffat went to reside at Kuruman, and very shortly made the acquaintance of the Barolong. He was an eye-witness of the disastrous events of the next few years, and has given a graphic account of them in his *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*.

In 1823 the waves of war which originated in Zululand began to roll over the Barolong country. The Mantati horde, before its defeat by the Griquas at Lithako, destroyed some sections of the tribe. Then its Makololo offshoot attacked the clan of Tawane. Next the Bataung under Molitsane fell upon the wretched people, and plundered them.

One clan, under the chief Sifunelo, had already migrated southward, and early in the year 1823 was fortunate enough in its wanderings to fall in with two Wesleyan missionaries,

the reverend Messrs. Broadbent and Hodgson, who were seeking a field of labour in Betshuanaland. These gentlemen took up their residence with the clan, which shortly afterwards tried to find a resting-place at Makwasi, on the northern bank of the Vaal. On one occasion, during the temporary absence of the missionaries, Makwasi was attacked by Molitsane's Bataung, and a considerable amount of spoil was taken, among which were a few cattle belonging to Mr. Broadbent. Thereupon the Griqua chief Andries Waterboer, constituting himself protector of the missionaries, proceeded with an armed party to Makwasi, pretended to hold an investigation, found Sifunelo guilty of seizing the cattle, and fined him six hundred oxen. The fine was paid, as the Griqua band was armed with muskets and was too strong to be resisted. It was subsequently ascertained that Sifunelo was entirely guiltless, and through the influence of the missionaries the colonial government brought such pressure to bear upon Waterboer that he restored the oxen. This was the first occasion on which our government had any dealings with the Barolong.

In 1826 Sifunelo's clan left Makwasi, and, moving about a hundred and twenty miles to the south-west, halted at Platberg, on the southern bank of the Vaal. There they remained until the close of the year 1833, when the reverend Messrs. James Archbell, John Edwards, and Thomas Jenkins, Wesleyan missionaries who succeeded Messrs. Broadbent and Hodgson, led them to Thaba Ntshu, a mountain west of the Caledon and distant from Thaba Bosigo about fifty or sixty miles.

The pressure of circumstances brought the remaining Barolong clans together, and in 1824 Mr. Moffat found the chiefs Gontse, Tawane, and Intshi residing together in one large kraal, which contained some twenty thousand inhabitants, including clans of the Bahurutsi and Bangwaketsi. Each chief governed his own section of the kraal. Gontse had the largest following, though Tawane was considered the strongest of them.

The great tribe of the Bangwaketsi under the chief

Makaba was not yet broken. Mr. Moffat went to visit Makaba, and found him living north of the Molopo. The missionary estimated the number of the Bangwaketsi at seventy thousand at the lowest computation.

In 1826 Mr. Andrew Geddes Bain visited the country. He found Tawane with his clan living in a miserable condition by a filthy pool in the bed of the Molopo. The water of the pool was so foul that Mr. Bain's dogs would scarcely lap it. Tawane had been driven by his enemies from his former residence two days' journey farther up the Molopo, but he intended to return immediately. The traveller described the chief as a 'sedate-faced old fellow wrapped up in a dirty buckskin kaross, with a very flat nose and a remarkably projecting under lip.'

From Tawane's wretched kraal Mr. Bain went on to the Bangwaketsi country. The principal kraal of this tribe was in a valley called Silokwalali, which the traveller found 'literally strewn with human skulls.' A short time previously Makaba had fallen in a great battle with one of the marauding hordes, and his brother Sobeka was acting as chief of the remnant of the tribe, Gasitsiwe, the rightful heir, being a minor.¹

The condition of the whole country north of the Orange and west of the Drakensberg at this time was such that the Griqua and Korana marauders, who have already been described as devastating the Lesuto, had the Bantu population entirely at their mercy. Little bands of these ruffians, mounted on horses and carrying firearms, rode at will from the Caledon to the Molopo, plundering wherever there was anything worth seizure, and shooting all who offended them.

After these came Moselekatse at the head of the terrible Matabele. In 1830-31 he fell upon the Bangwaketsi and nearly exterminated them. The destruction of the Bahurutsi and Bakwena followed next.

In September 1832 Dingan sent an army against Moselekatse, which succeeded in crossing the open country

¹ Extracts from Mr. Bain's journal were published by Mr. J. C. Chase in the *South African Quarterly Journal* for July-September 1830.

without being discovered, and made a sudden attack. Although taken by surprise, the Matabele fought desperately, and at length the assailants were beaten off with a loss of three entire regiments. But this circumstance was a proof to Moselekatse that he could still be reached by the Zulus without much difficulty, and, fearing that he might again be attacked, he moved his head-quarters to Mosigo, where the Bahurutsi had formerly their chief kraal.¹ From that position he sent his warriors against the Barolong.

Some of these fled to the desert, where they became Balala, poor wandering wretches, with no cattle or gardens, but living like Bushmen on game and wild plants. Part of one clan, with Matlabe its young chief, was incorporated with the Matabele. Gontse and Tawane with a few followers fled southward. Just at this time the Wesleyan missionaries were preparing to conduct the clan under Moroko, Sifunelo's son, from Platberg on the Vaal to Thaba Ntshu. Gontse and Tawane joined Moroko, and moved onwards with him. In the country of the Bahurutsi, Bangwaketsi, Bakwena, and Barolong, to use the expressive words of one of the chiefs when giving evidence many years later at Bloemhof, there was now no other master than Moselekatse and the lions.

It was in December 1833 that Gontse, Tawane, and Moroko, the heads of three of the divisions of the Barolong, being the descendants and representatives of three of the sons of Tao, with their respective clans were led by the Wesleyan missionaries to Thaba Ntshu. They were accompanied also by small parties of Koranas, Griquas, and half-breeds, who had no settled home, and for whom the missionaries were desirous of obtaining ground in some place where they could attempt to civilise them. At Thaba Ntshu the strangers found a petty chief named Moseme governing a few people, but he informed them that he was subordinate to Moshesh, and had no power to give them permission to settle.

¹ Called Kurrechane by the reverend Mr. Campbell, and which was the farthest point reached by that traveller in 1819.

The Basuto, so long accustomed to regard all strangers as enemies, were somewhat alarmed when tidings were carried through the country that a body of unknown people, among whom were Koranas, had appeared at Thaba Ntshu. Two of the French clergymen immediately proceeded to ascertain particulars, and having learned the object of the strangers, communicated it to Moshesh. The fact that Europeans were the leaders of the immigrants sufficed to dispel the fears of the Basuto, and Moshesh, glad to get friendly settlers on his border and hoping they would become incorporated with his own people, cordially consented to their location on the vacant land west of the Caledon.

A document purporting to be an absolute sale to the Wesleyan missionary society of a tract of ground about Thaba Ntshu, several hundred square miles in extent, was drawn up on the 7th of December 1833, and was signed by Moshesh and Moseme on the one part, and Messrs. Archbell, Edwards, and Jenkins on the other. The price paid is said therein to have been seven young oxen, one heifer, two sheep, and one goat. But there was no competent interpreter present when the arrangement was made, and it is very evident that Moshesh did not regard the transaction in the light of a sale, as he must at that time have been entirely unacquainted with any other system of disposing of land than that practised by tribes of his own race. He could not have comprehended the nature of the document, and in after years he constantly maintained that he had never intended to alienate the ground. On the other hand the Wesleyan missionaries have always held that the ground was not his at the time to alienate, that it was really open for any one to settle upon, and that the deed of sale was only drawn up to prevent any claim to it thereafter being made by the Basuto.

With the same object in view, on the 17th of July 1834 they purchased from Moshesh and Sikonyela jointly an extensive tract of land round Platberg and bordering on the Caledon. In the deed of sale, which is signed by both the chiefs, it is stated that eight head of horned cattle, thirty-four sheep, and five goats were given in payment, but the

view of the missionaries some years later, when Mosheah claimed to be their feudal lord, was that the purchase had been concluded as a friendly arrangement to prevent either the Basuto or the Batlokua from interfering with them or making pretensions to the ownership of the land.

The whole of the Barolong were located by the Wesleyan missionaries at Thaba Ntshu, where a large kraal was built and a station established. Matlabe was still a subject of Moselekatse, but shortly after this, hearing that his kinsmen had found a place of comparative safety, he made his escape and joined them. Of the four Barolong chiefs then at Thaba Ntshu, Gontse was the highest in rank; but so thoroughly impoverished was he, and so completely had his followers been dispersed or destroyed, that his name hardly ever appears in the numerous documents written at that period by European residents at the station. Being without talents of any kind, he was of no note whatever. Tawane, the next in rank, has left more traces of his residence at Thaba Ntshu, because he had sufficient energy to turn his followers into a band of robbers, and was one of the wasps that Mosheah afterwards charged with having dared to sting him. Matlabe was entirely sunk in obscurity. Moroko alone, owing partly to his clan having fled before the great disasters and partly to the guidance of the missionaries, was a man of power and influence.

The other natives who were brought by the Wesleyan missionaries at this time to the western bank of the Caledon were:

1. A clan of Koranas under a leader named Jan Hanto, who died shortly after this and was succeeded by Gert Taabosch. These were Hottentots, with habits ill-fitted for a settled life, as they were still a purely pastoral people. In disposition, language, and customs, as well as in colour, they differed from all the members of the Bantu family. The least stable in character of any people on earth, without attachment to locality of birth or residence, so impatient of restraint that their chiefs possessed little or no power, indolent to the last degree, careless about the future as long

as immediate wants were supplied, regardless of the rights of others, callous to the sufferings of human beings or dumb animals, these Koranas yet surpassed the Bantu in power of imagination and in speculations upon the workings of nature. The clan under Jan Hanto migrated from beyond the Vaal river, the grounds on which they had previously tended their herds being far away to the north-west. They were now located at Merumetsu.

2. A small party of halfbreeds, of mixed European and Hottentot blood, under a captain named Carolus Baatje. These people, who were located at Platberg, came from the northern districts of the Cape Colony.

3. A small party of Griquas under a captain named Peter Davida. This was the remnant of a comparatively large body of Hottentots and people of mixed European, Hottentot, Bushman, and negro blood, who had lived for many years by hunting and by plundering defenceless tribes, but who had recently met with fearful punishment. In July 1831 Barend Barends, who was then their head, sent nearly the whole of his best fighting men on a plundering expedition. The band left Boetsap (in the present colonial division of Barkly West), and by making a long detour to the eastward fell unexpectedly upon the principal Matabele cattle posts and swept off nearly the whole of Moselekatse's herds. The Matabele warriors were at the time engaged in a distant expedition. Only some old men and boys could be got together to follow the Griquas, who were retreating with their booty in such fancied security that they did not even post sentinels at night. Just before dawn one morning they were surprised by the Matabele, when very few Griquas escaped to return to Boetsap and tell the tale of their exploit and the fate of their companions. Those who had remained at home then placed themselves under the guidance of the Wesleyan missionaries, and accompanied them to the Caledon. They were located at Lishuane.

At all the settlements mentioned above, and also at Imparani among the Batlokua, Wesleyan missionaries were henceforth stationed.

Immigrants of still another race were now making their appearance. As early as 1819 small parties of European hunters began to penetrate the country between Cornet Spruit and the Caledon, and a few years later they occasionally went as far north as Thaba Bosigo. In their wanderings they encountered no other inhabitants than a few savage Bushmen, and they therefore regarded the country as open to occupation. About the same time some nomadic graziers from the district of Graaff-Reinet were tempted to make a temporary residence between the Orange and Modder rivers, on ascertaining that grass was to be found there during seasons of drought in the colony. They did not, however, remain long, nor did they come within several days' journey of the Basuto outposts. But from this period they continued to cross the river whenever pasturage failed in the south, and gradually they made their way eastward.

At length a party of fourteen or fifteen families settled at a place which they named Zevenfontein, on the western bank of the Caledon, with the intention of remaining there permanently. They found no people in that neighbourhood but Bushmen, and no one objected to their occupation of the land. With this exception, hardly any of the farmers who moved into the district along the Caledon at this early date contemplated settlement. They merely sought pasturage for a few months, or they visited it in hunting expeditions, in either case coming and going as suited their convenience.

About this time the Basuto who had fled from their country heard in the distant districts in which they had taken refuge that a chief of their own race was building up a nation, and that his government afforded protection without being tyrannical. They began therefore to return to the land of their fathers, and every year now saw a great increase in the population. These refugees brought more than mere numerical strength. Many of them came from the Cape Colony, where they had been in service, and these took back with them as the most valued of all possessions the weapons of the white man, which they believed would

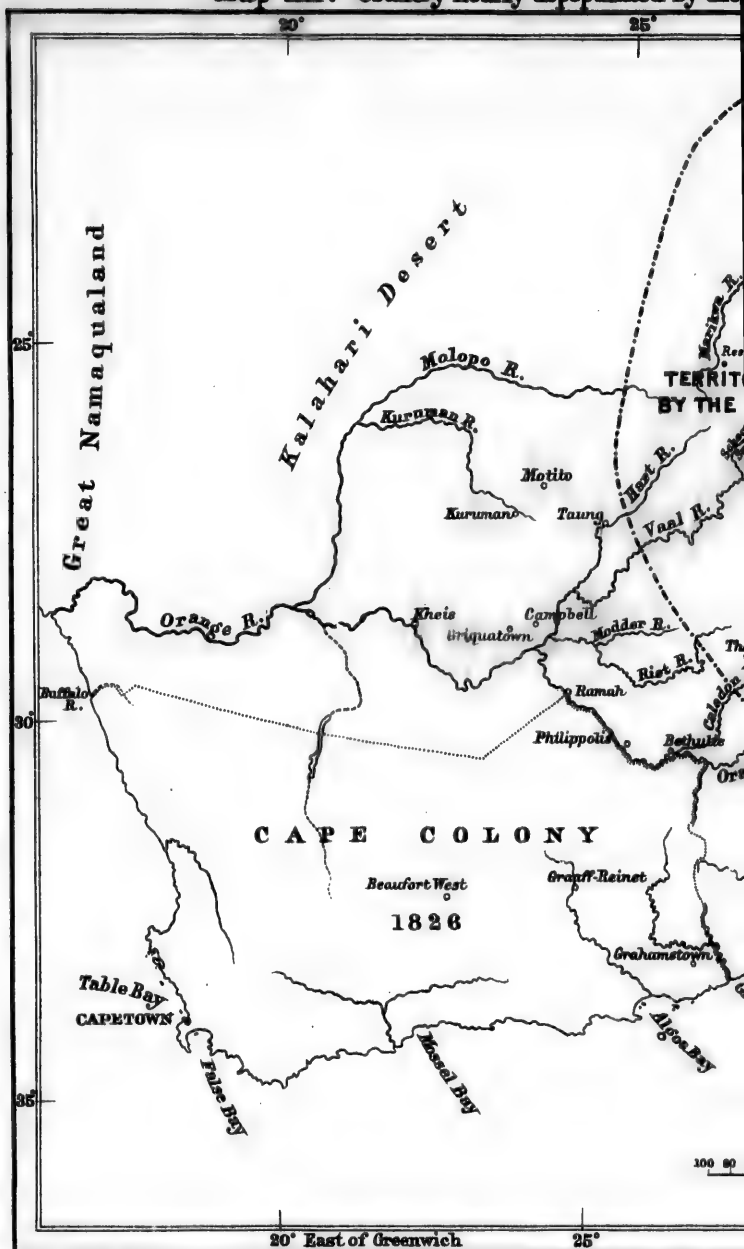
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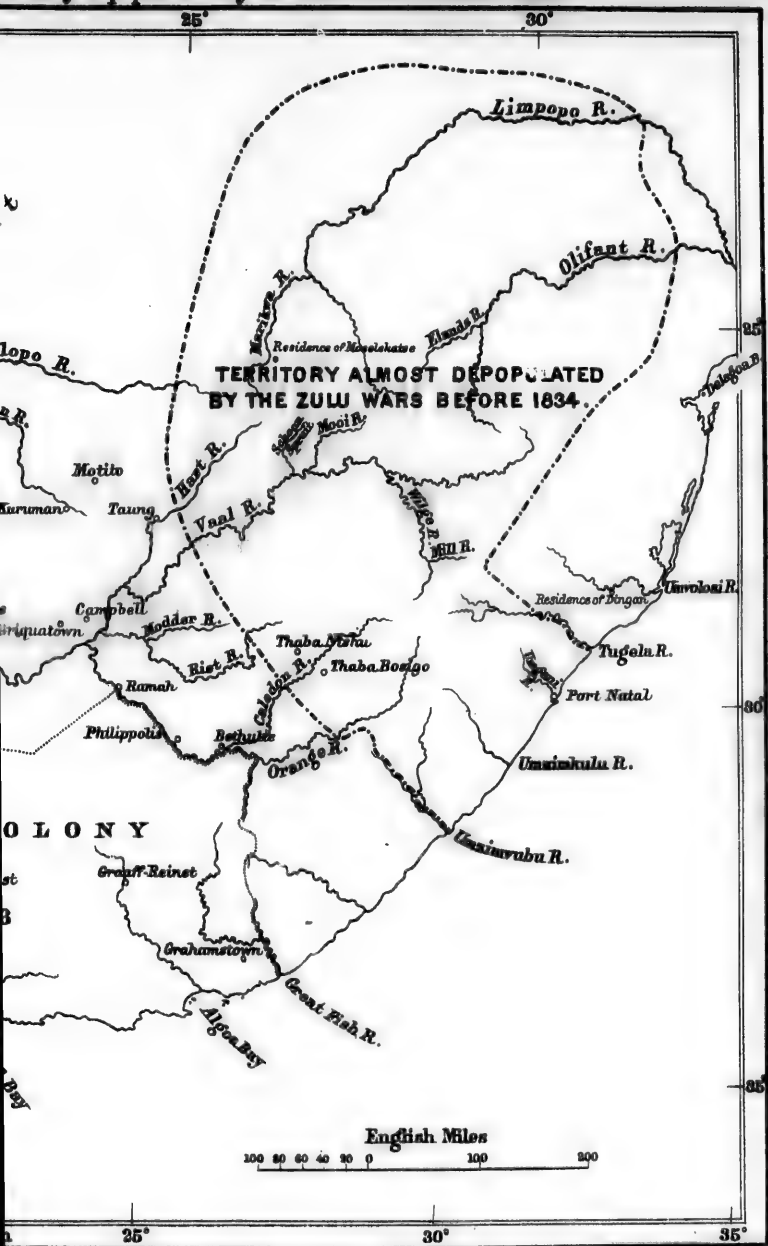
Map XII. Country nearly depopulated by the



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London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

nearly depopulated by the Zulu wars before 1834.



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protect them against suffering again such awful calamities as those they had formerly gone through. Other native refugees were also swelling the population of the Lesuto. Fragments of different broken Betshuana clans, hearing of the wisdom and generosity and valour of Moshesh, came and asked to be taken under his protection.

And so the power of Moshesh was growing rapidly. The farmers when they returned to the banks of the Caledon, after an absence of only a few months, often found a Basuto kraal where they had grazed their herds on their previous visit, and questions began to be asked as to who had the best right to the ground. At first, however, this was a question of little importance, for there was still so much vacant land that by one or the other moving a little farther, room could be found for all.

Though portions of the territory formerly occupied by the mountain tribes were in this manner again becoming peopled, the inhabitants, descendants of the former owners and new settlers alike, were kept in constant alarm. If there had been a disposition to forget that a growth of prosperity would certainly induce a fresh invasion either of the Zulus or of the Matabele, an occasional raid by the last named served as a reminder of the dangerous situation in which they were living.

In 1834 a band of Matabele, while scouring the country along the Vaal to prevent its occupation, came upon a little party of Griquas who had imprudently ventured on a hunting expedition in that direction. Peter Davids, the captain of Lishuane, was with the party, and with the thoughtlessness characteristic of his race, he had taken his family with him. The consequence was that one of his daughters and a nephew were made prisoners, though the others, having horses, managed to escape. The lives of the captives were spared. In 1836 the traveller Harris saw the girl in Moselekatse's harem at Mosega, and ascertained that the boy was still alive.

CHAPTER XXXV.

MAJOR-GENERAL RICHARD BOURKE, ACTING GOVERNOR, 5 MARCH
1826 TO 9 SEPTEMBER 1828.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR GALBRAITH LOWRY COLE, GOVERNOR,
INSTALLED 9 SEPTEMBER 1828, RETIRED 10 AUGUST 1833.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL THOMAS FRANCIS WADE, ACTING GOVER-
NOR, 10 AUGUST 1833 TO 16 JANUARY 1834.

Successive English ministries—Alterations in the colonial courts of justice—Abolition of the boards of heemraden, and substitution of civil commissioners—Division of the colony into two provinces—Powers of the resident magistrates—Abolition of the burgher senate—Transfer of the district and town revenues to the colonial treasury—Alterations in the council of advice—Appointment of justices of the peace—Dissatisfaction of the burghers at the exclusive rights given to the English language—Reduction of the governor's salary—Sale of the estates Groote Post, Camp's Bay, and Newlands—Condition of the Bushmen and Hottentots—Ordinance placing these people on a political equality with Europeans—Account of the reverend Dr. Phillip—Publication of the book *Researches in South Africa*—The libel case Mackay *versus* Phillip—Arrival of Governor Sir Lowry Cole—Dealings with Kaffir clans—Location of Hottentots in the upper valleys of the Kat river—Location of Europeans along the Koonap river under a system of military tenure—Instructions by the secretary of state prohibiting the alienation of crown lands in any other manner than by public sale—Events connected with the liberation of the press from the control of the executive branch of the government—Alterations and improvements in Capetown—Establishment of savings banks—Foundation of the South African college—Formation of the villages of Malmesbury and Colesberg—Construction of the road over Sir Lowry's pass—Retrenchment in public expenditure—Ravages by a robber band on the northern border—Ordinance concerning commandos—Its disallowance by the imperial government—Retirement of Sir Lowry Cole—Temporary administration of Lieutenant-Colonel Wade—Arrival of Governor Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

DURING the period that Major-General Bourke acted as governor, though it only covered thirty months, several important political changes took place. The fortunes of the colony were to a large extent dependent upon the ministries in power in England. In April 1827 the earl of Liverpool, who had been premier nearly fifteen years, was succeeded in

office by Mr. Canning, and Earl Bathurst, so long secretary of state for the colonies, was replaced by Viscount Goderich. This settled the question of Lord Charles Somerset's return to South Africa, for he immediately tendered his resignation, which was accepted. Then there was a series of short-lived ministries in England. Mr. Canning died, and in August 1827 Viscount Goderich became premier, and Mr. Huskisson secretary for the colonies. In January 1828 the duke of Wellington succeeded Viscount Goderich, but Mr. Huskisson remained at the colonial office until May, when he was replaced by Sir George Murray. This ministry retained office until November 1830. Then Earl Grey became premier, and Viscount Goderich again secretary for the colonies.

The reports of the commissioners of inquiry and the discussions in the house of commons upon Lord Charles Somerset's administration alike tended to show the necessity of providing a high court of justice that would command the respect and confidence of the people. From 1806 to 1827 the judges were appointed by the governor, and were removable at his pleasure. All—except the chief justice—held other situations in the service, and had the position of judges assigned to them as a mark of favour or to increase their salaries. The court of appeal consisted of the governor himself, assisted in criminal cases by one or two assessors. Occasionally decisions were reviewed in England, and they were recognised by the highest legal authorities there to be in accordance with justice, but the constitution of the courts subjected their proceedings to adverse criticism by those against whom judgment was given. They might do what was right, but they could not command the respect of every one.

The ministry of which Mr. Canning was premier and Lord Goderich secretary for the colonies caused a charter of justice to be prepared, which received the signature of the king on the 24th of August 1827. It provided for the establishment of a supreme court, to be independent of the other branches of the government, and to consist of a

chief justice and three puisne judges, all of whom were to be barristers or advocates of at least three years' standing. They were to be appointed by the crown, and were not to hold any other office. In civil cases the chief justice and two puisne judges were to form a quorum, and there was to be a right of appeal to the privy council if the matter in dispute was over 1,000*l.* in value. Criminal cases were to be tried by a single judge and a jury of nine men, whose verdict was to be unanimous in order to convict. The forms of procedure were to be those of English courts, and the pleas were to be in the English language.

Circuit courts were to be held twice a year in the chief villages throughout the colony. In them civil cases were to be tried by a single judge, but there was to be a right of appeal to the supreme court when the amount in dispute was over 100*l.* in value. Criminal cases were to be tried by a judge and a jury consisting of not less than six nor more than nine persons.

The office of fiscal was abolished, and an attorney-general was substituted, with a salary of 1,500*l.* a year. The other officers connected with the new court were a registrar, with a salary of 600*l.*, a master, with a salary of 800*l.*, and a sheriff, with a salary of 600*l.* a year. Sir John Wylde—previously judge of the admiralty court in New South Wales—received the appointment of chief justice, with a salary of 2,500*l.* a year, and Messrs. William Menzies, William Westbrook Burton, and George Kekewich were appointed puisne judges, each with a salary of 1,500*l.* a year. Mr. Anthony Oliphant was appointed attorney-general, Mr. Pieter Gerhard Brink sheriff, Mr. Clerke Burton master, and Mr. J. F. Jurgens—succeeded after a few weeks by Mr. Thomas Henry Bowles—registrar. The last three appointments were made by the secretary of state upon the recommendation of the governor.

On the 1st of January 1828 the new supreme court entered upon its duties. At the same time the whole of the lower courts were swept away, and with them such popular representation as had previously existed. For the landdrosts

and heemraden, resident magistrates were substituted to perform the judicial duties, and civil commissioners to perform all other.

The colony was divided into two provinces, termed the western and the eastern. The western province included the districts of the Cape, Simonstown, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Worcester; and the eastern province the districts of Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet, Somerset, Albany, Uitenhage, and George. Seven civil commissioners were appointed, namely, William Macdonald Mackay for the Cape and Simonstown, Daniel Johannes van Ryneveld for Stellenbosch, Harry Rivers for Swellendam, Charles Trappes for Worcester, Willem Cornelis van Ryneveld for Beaufort and Graaff-Reinet, William Bolden Dundas—succeeded in July by Duncan Campbell—for Somerset and Albany, and J. W. van der Riet for Uitenhage and George. Each civil commissioner had a salary of 400*l.* a year.

For the eastern province a commissioner-general was appointed, to control the proceedings of the inferior officers in cases where the delay of a reference to Capetown would be prejudicial to the public interests, and under the governor's directions to exercise special superintendence over the affairs of the border. For this office Captain Andries Stockenstrom, previously landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, was chosen. He was directed to reside at Uitenhage, and was allowed a salary of 800*l.* a year.

The resident magistrates had power to try civil cases in which the amount in dispute did not exceed 10*l.* in value, but a right of appeal to the circuit court was reserved in cases of over 2*l.* For criminal offences they could sentence to a fine of 5*l.*, imprisonment for one month, or flogging within the precincts of the jail. They were required to hold a court twice in every week, or oftener if necessary. The proceedings were to be conducted in the English language. The following resident magistrates were appointed, each with a salary of 300*l.* a year, except those of Stellenbosch and Grahamstown, who received 500*l.* a year: J. P. Serrurier to Simonstown, Abraham Faure to Stellenbosch,

Christiaan Michiel Lind to Swellendam, Jacobus Johannes le Sueur to Worcester, Jan van Ryneveld to Clanwilliam, William Walter Harding to Beaufort West, Egbertus Bergh to Graaff-Reinet, J. J. Meintjes to Somerset, Thomas Lawson to Grahamstown, Jan Gustaf Aspelung to Uitenhage, Hougham Hudson to Port Elizabeth, and Willem Adriaan Wentzel to George. The office at Port Frances was closed.

The magistrate of Capetown had a different title. In May 1826 Mr. Petrus Borchardus Borchers, a member of the high court of justice, was appointed permanent sitting commissioner, and was directed to hold a court daily for the trial of petty criminal cases. To this office was now added the judicial duties of the board of landdrost and heemraden of the district, and Mr. Borchers continued to hold it with the new title of judge of police. He could decide civil cases when the amount in dispute was less than 20*l*. A salary of 800*l*. a year was attached to the situation.

A superintendent of police had been appointed as far back as October 1825, when the fiscal was relieved of the duty of preserving order in the town. Mr. Willem Cornelis van Ryneveld received the appointment provisionally, but was succeeded in April 1826 by the baron Charles de Lorentz, for whom the duchess of Cambridge exerted her influence, and who was consequently sent out by Earl Bathurst, with a salary of 700*l*. a year.

The district revenues were transferred to the colonial treasury, and the government took upon itself all the obligations of the boards of landdrost and heemraden. Even the burgher senate was abolished, its revenues were diverted to the treasury, and the government thereafter carried out municipal duties in Capetown. This board had been in existence since 1796, and the only change in its constitution during that time was that in June 1811 a salary of three thousand five hundred rixdollars a year from the town funds was attached to the office of president, which was to be held by the senior member for two years.

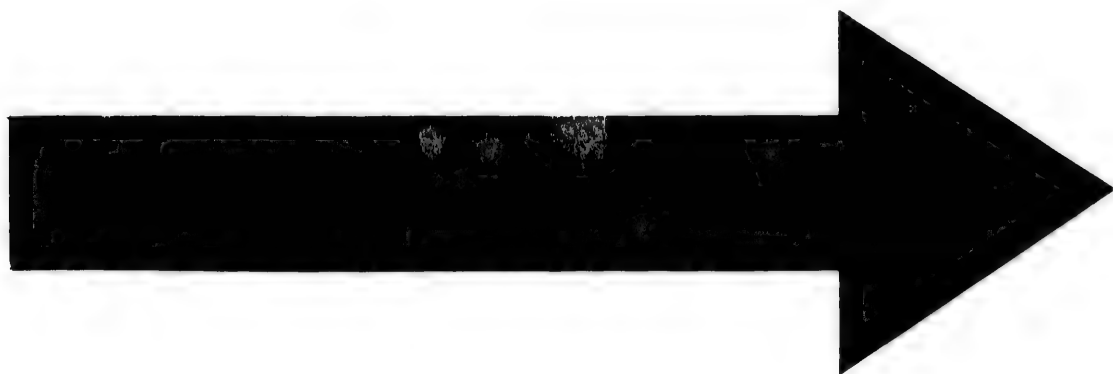
To compensate for the abolition of the popular boards, Lord Goderich deprived two of the official members of their

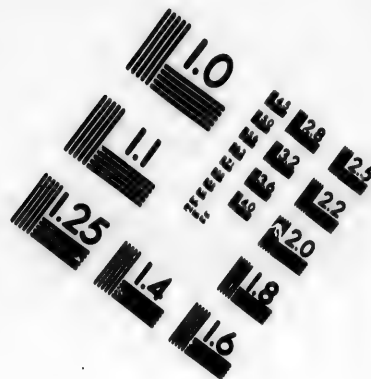
seats in the council of advice, and directed the acting governor to nominate in their stead two colonists for his approval. General Bourke proposed Sir John Truter, the chief justice who retired on the establishment of the supreme court, and Captain Andries Stockenstrom, commissioner-general for the eastern districts, both of whom were confirmed in the appointment by the secretary of state. The council then consisted of Chief Justice Sir John Wylde, the military officer next in rank to the commander-in-chief, Mr. Joachim Willem Stoll, who retained his appointment of treasurer and accountant-general with a salary of 1,000*l.* a year, Lieutenant-Colonel John Bell, who in 1827 succeeded Sir Richard Plasket as secretary to government with a salary of 2,000*l.* a year, Sir John Truter, and Captain Stockenstrom. A few months later the secretary of state deprived the chief justice of his seat, and thereafter the council consisted of five members. The offices of auditor-general and clerk of the council were combined. Mr. Dudley Montagu Perceval—son of the prime minister who was assassinated in the lobby of the house of commons in May 1812—was appointed to fill them, with a salary of 1,000*l.* a year.

The only other compensation was the conferring of the appointment of justice of the peace upon a few colonists in all the districts, but very little power was attached to the office.

These sweeping changes were received by the colonists almost in silence. Everyone admitted that an independent supreme court was preferable to such a court as had previously existed; but the abolition of the boards of heemraden and of the burgher senate, and above all the substitution of the English for the Dutch language in judicial proceedings, gave very great offence. On the 24th of January 1828 a notice was issued that all memorials or other papers addressed to the government must be written in English or be accompanied by a translation, otherwise they would be returned to those who sent them.

A little later Mr. Justice Burton removed the criminal cases from the circuit court at Worcester to Capetown for





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trial, on the ground that a jury, all of whom understood the English language, was not obtainable at Worcester, though the prisoners and the witnesses spoke Dutch only, and every word that they said had to be translated to the court. The chief justice and Judge Kekewich were of opinion that it was not necessary for jurymen to understand English, unless others impanelled with them could not speak Dutch; but Justices Burton and Menzies maintained that ignorance of English was a disqualification under the terms of the charter of justice, and acted upon that principle. The burghers, who regarded their exclusion from the jury-box as an insult, were deeply incensed by it. Memorials, however, were not sent in, because the colonists would not be driven to have them written in English, and there was little hope of success had they even done so.

And now was heard the first murmuring of a cry that a few years later resounded through the colony, and men and women began to talk of the regions devastated by the Zulu wars, if it might not be possible to find there a refuge from British authority.

In addition to the changes already mentioned, Lord Gode-rich decided upon reducing the salaries of the governor and several of the heads of departments. Thereafter the governor was to receive 7,000*l.* a year, with the official residence in Capetown and an allowance of 500*l.* a year to provide himself with a country house. The collector of customs was to have a salary of 1,000*l.* a year, the controller of customs 700*l.*, and the surveyor-general 700*l.* The office of surveyor-general was united with that of civil engineer and superintendent of works. Major Charles Cornwallis Michell—who had served in the Anglo-Lusitanian brigade in the peninsular war—was appointed to it, but he did not arrive in South Africa until 1829.

Instructions had previously been issued that the estate Groote Post should be disposed of, and in October 1827 that property was divided into seven farms, which were leased by auction for seventeen years. Orders were now sent out that the estates at Newlands and Camp's Bay should be disposed

of for the benefit of the colonial treasury. In pursuance of these instructions, in July 1828 the marine villa at Camp's Bay was sold by auction.

The Newlands estate was disposed of in the same manner on the 15th of March 1828. It was sixty-four morgen in extent, and a house upon which at least thirty thousand pounds had been expended was standing upon it, though the main wing was in ruins. It was purchased by Mr. Willem Izaak Louw for 3,025*l*. In July 1830 Mr. Louw sold it to Mr. Jan Cruywagen for 3,008*l*. Mr. Cruywagen after a time cut part of the ground into small lots, and disposed of them; but retained twenty-nine morgen around the house, which he sold in September 1859 to Dr. Jonas Michiel Hiddingh for 4,600*l*. The property is now in possession of Dr. Hiddingh's nephew and heir, but the house standing upon it is only part of the one built by Lord Charles Somerset.

The condition of the Hottentots and other free coloured inhabitants of the colony had been for some time a subject of discussion by philanthropists in South Africa and England, who were exerting their influence with the imperial government to obtain an alteration of the laws regarding these people. Extreme views were held by many persons on this subject, and it was even asserted that most of those who were called free were in reality in a position worse than that of slavery.

Of the different classes of free coloured inhabitants, the Bushmen, once so formidable, were now the least important. Before the English conquest they had ceased as a race to offer opposition to the advance of the Europeans. After the settlement of the Griquas north of the Orange, their numbers were very rapidly reduced, and they had no longer a place of security to which they could retire when colonial commandos were searching for them. The Griquas, being partly of Hottentot blood, had all the animosity of Hottentots towards the Bushman race. Possessed of horses and firearms, they followed the occupation of hunters, and were thus equipped in the best manner for destroying Bushmen, to whom they showed no quarter. Some of those whom they pursued

retreated to the Kalahari desert, others fled into the waste region south of the lower course of the Orange, but the larger number perished.

During the early years of the century colonial commanders were occasionally sent against plundering bands, but after 1810 very little blood was shed, and generally all the members of these little hordes were made prisoners, when they were apprenticed to such persons as could make use of them. The adults, however, seldom remained long in service, no matter how kindly they were treated.

One of the principal reasons for the extension of the colonial boundary advanced by Landdrost Stockenström, of Graaff-Reinet, was the protection of the remaining Bushmen. When they ceased to be formidable, and the land over which they had roamed was divided into farms, various little parties of a few families each attached themselves in a kind of vassalage to individual white men. They agreed to abstain from stealing cattle, and were allowed to collect wild plants without interference. Game had become less plentiful than formerly, but whenever possible it was shot for them, and in seasons of scarcity the white man gave them a few goats or sheep. Whenever animals were slaughtered, those parts which Europeans reject were allotted to them. Some of them guarded the white man's flocks, and in return were provided with tobacco, milk, skins for clothing, and various trifles. They called the white man master, and he termed them his people. He was in fact a chief, under whose rule they were secure from molestation, guarded against the last extreme of want, and if not absolutely free, as nearly so as is compatible with protection. This condition of life seems to be the nearest approach to civilisation of which the Bushman is capable.

But very few adults were found willing to submit for lengthened periods even to the small amount of restraint which such vassalage implies. Long famine, broken occasionally by a feast maybe of carrion such as only a vulture would share with them,¹ hardship of every kind, peril of life,

¹ This is the case to the present day. During the early months of the year

all seemed light to Bushmen weary of the same routine day after day. There were numerous instances of men and women leaving their children with farmers to be taken care of, and then going away and not returning for years. In August 1817 Lord Charles Somerset issued a proclamation authorising the landdrosts to bind such children as apprentices to the farmers with whom they were left, or to other respectable and humane people; but every precaution was to be taken to prevent children being obtained under false pretences or by violent means.

Agents of the London society made many efforts to induce these people to settle at mission stations, but always without success. As soon as the teacher's supply of food failed, those whom he had gathered together dispersed again. There was one station, on the site of the present village of Colesberg, which the government was charged by the superintendent of the London society's missions with having broken up for no other purpose than to please the frontier farmers. In point of fact, however, the teacher at that station misconducted himself in such a manner that he was removed by Captain Stockenström, a friend and supporter of mission work; and at the time there was no prospect whatever of the Bushmen in the neighbourhood laying aside their wandering habits.

All the people of this race in the colony were regarded by the government as subject to the various laws and regulations concerning Hottentots.

1890 the horse sickness was so severe in the colonial districts south of the Orange river below the junction of the Vaal, that some thousands of animals died. Very soon after its appearance Bushmen of all ages were seen coming from the Kalahari in greater numbers than were previously believed to be in existence. They were wretchedly thin, with their hunger belts drawn tight, and their bones protruding. They seemed to be led by instinct to the putrid carcases of the horses, upon which they feasted, and round which they danced in exuberance of joy, though Europeans could not approach for the stench. In a few weeks they were so fat and plump that they could hardly be recognised as the same people. At any time within the last twenty years easy employment with high wages could have been obtained, and they would have been warmly welcomed at mission stations, but they preferred the life they were leading.

*of the teacher's
letter to
Stockenström
Philip 11
250.*

Lord Caledon's proclamation abolishing chieftainship, and requiring Hottentots to be provided with passes when moving about the country, has been fully described in a preceding chapter. In April 1812 a proclamation was issued by Sir John Cradock, under which children of Hottentots born while their parents were in service, and maintained for eight years by the employers of their parents, were to be bound as apprentices for ten years to these employers or such other humane persons as the landdrosts might approve of. This proclamation ignored the right of Hottentots to control their children, and substituted government officers for the guardians appointed by nature. But it is equally true that it had more effect in raising these people towards civilisation than any other regulation ever made concerning them. The governor who issued it was one of the most benevolent of men, and his philanthropy was guided by sound sense and experience. In his opinion it was better for the children that they should acquire industrial habits, even if restraint had to be used, than that they should become vagrants.

There were several instances of grants of ground to deserving halfbreeds and Hottentots, who were regarded as capable of making use of them; but these were exceptions to the general system. The method of providing land for this class of the inhabitants was by assigning large areas to mission stations. Even now, after sixty years more of civilising influences, the greater number of the Hottentots would not be benefited by having land given to them under individual tenure. It would either be sold, or remain unimproved.

The Moravians and the Wesleyans were satisfied with the areas assigned to them, but the superintendent of the London society's missions made a grievance of the difficulty of obtaining an enlargement of some of the stations under his control. In 1824 the reverend Mr. Kitchingman, missionary at Bethelsdorp, applied to the government for all the spare ground about that place and two full-sized farms elsewhere. Bethelsdorp had greatly improved since the time of Dr.

Vanderkemp, and many of the Hottentots residing there were leading lives useful to themselves and the community at large. But Lord Charles Somerset, for reasons which will presently be mentioned, was not disposed to aid this society, and refused the application. Dr. Philip then appealed to Earl Bathurst, who granted the spare land about Bethelsdorp, but declined to give the two farms. An addition to Theopolis was also desired by Dr. Philip. The government, being apprehensive of danger from too large a settlement of Hottentots at that place, offered to grant part of the ground asked for on condition that the society would give a pledge not to purchase more adjoining it. The society declined the proposal, and therefore the grant was not made.¹

Several small clans of Hottentots, who clung to their ancient customs, had removed to Great Namaqualand after

¹ In Dr. Philip's work *Researches in South Africa* it is made to appear as if land had actually been taken from Theopolis for the benefit of Europeans. An investigation was called for by the secretary of state, and was thoroughly carried out. The report upon it by Sir Lowry Cole to Lord Goderich, dated 10th of May 1831, is a document of great length. The governor terms Dr. Philip's claim to the ground said to have been cut off 'a monstrous and unfounded demand,' and adds: 'Dr. Philip has admitted that he, a Mr. Wright, and the resident missionary, were the parties who altered from their own measurements their copy of the original diagram, which Dr. Philip afterwards published in its garbled state with the government surveyor's name still attached to it, thereby giving, inadvertently perhaps, a colour of authenticity to a charge which had no foundation in facts. Alterations or additions of this nature in official documents are at least inconvenient, when the object is to establish facts rather than to support errors.' But upon the matter being decided against him, Dr. Philip accused the whole of the gentlemen engaged in the investigation with being corrupt. Of this the governor remarks in the report: 'The honour and the professional reputation of gentlemen who have been sworn to the faithful discharge of their public duties, and who could not by any possibility be interested in the result of the inspection at Theopolis, the evidence of eye-witnesses to the operation, nay the very character of his own coadjutor as a man of common observation and understanding, all was to be sacrificed without scruple by Dr. Philip to the superior credibility of Hottentot witnesses examined by himself five years ago, when he was avowedly engaged in the compilation of charges not only against the government but against the whole colony. . . . Supported by his society . . . Dr. Philip derives much of his importance from the enthusiasm of that party in England whom he has taught to consider him as the first if not the only person either here or at home who has both the will and the courage to yield protection to the Hottentot population.'

the proclamation of the earl of Caledon abolishing chieftainship and bringing every one in the colony under colonial laws. But the benefit to the race in general derived from the substitution of government for practical anarchy should outweigh the discontent of a few hundred individuals. There was also a small stream of emigration towards the Griqua settlements north of the Orange, but it was not caused by oppression, nor was it sufficiently large to form a good foundation for a grievance.

Some of the missionaries complained of the state of the prisons. When an unknown Hottentot made a charge against a colonist, he was lodged in jail, and was detained there until the magistrate could investigate the case. This seems to be a hardship, but so volatile were these people that there was no other way to secure their appearance when the individual complained of had travelled to the court perhaps a hundred or two hundred miles. If the Hottentot was unable to prove his assertions, or if the magistrate considered the injury he had sustained insufficient to require redress, he was liable to be punished for making frivolous charges.

The prisons in the country districts were small and unventilated. Into them were sometimes crowded slaves and Hottentots, guilty of every kind of crime, or of no crime at all. The Hottentot who preferred a charge of ill usage against his master did so on peril of being incarcerated with the worst of characters, and of being flogged in addition if the case should break down. At the same time it must be remembered that, wretched as the prisons then were, they were superior in comfort to the ordinary dwellings of the Hottentots, and that the food provided for the inmates was superior in quality and quantity to that which they were commonly accustomed to, except when they were in service. The majority of the Hottentots indeed rather enjoyed prison life than dreaded it.

These people could be arrested and punished if they attempted to travel about the country without passes from employers or the district officials. They could be forced to

perform labour upon public works at very low rates of payment, though in this respect they were no worse off than white people. They could be called out for military service, if required, but so could the European colonists. The system of impressment for the Cape regiment had long since ceased, and the regiment itself was greatly reduced in strength in November 1827, when the cavalry companies were disbanded, and the infantry were turned into a corps termed the Cape mounted riflemen.

There were many persons connected with the government in South Africa who desired that the Hottentots and other free coloured people should be placed on a political equality with the European colonists. By instruction of the acting governor, on the 3rd of April 1828 Captain Stockenström, commissioner-general of the eastern districts, submitted to him a memorandum on this subject, which so entirely coincided with his views that he requested Mr. Justice Burton to draft an ordinance in its spirit. The draft—since known as the fiftieth ordinance—was then laid before the council, and having received the approval of that body, was issued on the 17th of July. It relieved the Hottentots, Bushmen, and other free people of colour from the operation of the laws concerning passes and the apprenticeship of children, and placed them in all respects politically on a level with Europeans.

While this measure was being carried out by the local government, the imperial authorities had come to a similar decision. To this they had been moved by the reverend Dr. John Philip, who during many years took such an active part in colonial affairs that it is necessary to know more of him than the mere name. No man ever in this country was more lauded by a section of the community—though a very small one,—and more decried by the great majority of the colonists and the officers of government. Take, for instance, the inscription on the memorial tablet in the Independent church in Capetown and the despatches of Lord Charles Somerset and Sir Lowry Cole, and there is all the difference between a saint and a promoter of mischief.

On the tablet he is described as 'one whose intellect was consecrated to the service of divine truth, whose character was richly adorned with Christian graces and virtues, whose heart was deeply interested in the success of every benevolent and pious effort, and whose life was faithfully spent for the glory of God in the welfare of man. After a highly acceptable and useful ministry of sixteen years in Great Britain, and after a residence of upwards of thirty years in Capetown, where he was known as an unflinching advocate of Christian missions, an unwearied friend of the oppressed, and an able preacher of sacred truth, he retired to Hankey, where he died on the 27th of August 1851, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, sustained by the consolations, and rejoicing in the hopes, of that gospel for the defence and diffusion of which he had lived and laboured.'

Lord Charles Somerset wrote to the secretary of state of 'the insidiousness of this dangerous man's character,' of his reply to certain charges as being 'full of disgusting evasion and perversion of facts,' of his 'mingling himself in everything that could give him political importance,' and of his neglecting to show 'as much activity in reporting to the missionary society the redress of grievances as he appears to exercise in reporting the grievances themselves.'¹

The succeeding governor, Sir Lowry Cole, described him as 'more of a politician than a missionary,' and as having 'on all occasions endeavoured to impress on the minds of the Hottentots that they could not expect for protection or look for justice unless to the (missionary) institutions.'²

It is still too soon to attempt to give a decision upon the effects of all of Dr. Philip's political acts in South Africa,—the difficulty with the Pondos, for instance, which is largely due to him, being still unsettled;—and it can only be said that to the present moment they have occasioned infinite trouble to the government. But now that time has buried

¹ Despatches of Lord Charles Somerset to Earl Bathurst of dates 11 October 1824, 21 January 1825, 20 July 1825, and 10 December 1825.

² Despatches of Sir Lowry Cole to Lord Goderich of dates 25 October 1830 and 10 May 1831.

in the grave the fierce passions which he roused, his personal character can be fairly traced. He was a man of great natural ability, and applied himself intensely to whatever he took in hand. The son of a weaver at Kirkealdy, he was brought up to his father's occupation, but at an early age displayed remarkable fluency of speech and aptitude for debating. This power was developed by practice in a weavers' club, and led to his being received as a student at the Hoxton academy in London. Having completed the course of study required by the Independent church, he became assistant to a clergyman at Newbury, but after a short time he resigned that situation and removed to Aberdeen, where he formed a congregation of Independents, and remained twelve years as their pastor. Next he turned his attention to the heathen, and by writing and preaching in various places he attracted the notice of the London missionary society, and was engaged by that association to proceed to South Africa as its superintendent. He arrived in this country early in the year 1819, when he was forty-four years of age.

Dr. Philip was a man of good appearance, and was possessed of a constitution so robust that he was capable of performing a vast amount of labour without fatigue. The hereditary energy of his ancestors was developed in him to such an extent that action was a necessity of his existence, and during at least twenty years after his arrival in South Africa his obstinacy was so intense that when once he entered upon a course, no matter whether good or evil, no argument or remonstrance would turn him back. Great as his intellect undoubtedly was, it was not of so high an order as to make him admit an error and try to rectify it. At a later date, after he had enjoyed almost unlimited political influence, and had seen the schemes which he devised result in bloodshed and confusion, he became a comparatively gentle old man; but at the period treated of in this and the preceding chapters he was the most active opponent of the government in the country. He laid down a theory that the coloured races were in all respects except education

mentally equal to the European colonists, and that they were wrongfully and cruelly oppressed by the white people and the government. With this as a professed motive for exertion, he stood forth as their champion; but in advocating their cause he acted as a general might do who was determined to win a victory, and was indifferent as to what weapons he used. To secure the support and confidence of the great philanthropic societies in England, he said, and wrote, and did much that all who are regardful of truth must pronounce decidedly wrong.

He placed himself in antagonism to every one who did not hold his particular views, and denounced them all as heartless oppressors. Even men of the most exemplary Christian character, such as the reverend Andrew Murray, of Graaff-Reinet, and the reverend Alexander Smith, of Uitenhage, were forced into a contention with him, and on one occasion matters proceeded to such a length that Mr. Murray roundly accused him of making false statements to the commissioners of inquiry. He lived thus in an atmosphere of constant strife, and many measures which he favoured, though admittedly good in themselves, received no support from the great body of the colonists solely because of his connection with them.

Early in 1826 Dr. Philip went to England, and in April 1828 published a work in two volumes entitled *Researches in South Africa*, with the object of showing that the Hottentots and other coloured people in the colony were ordinarily subject to most unjust treatment. The book puts forth as facts mere theories concerning the Bushman race which are now known to be incorrect, the account given in it of a great commando against the Bushmen in 1774 was proved to be imaginative by Lieutenant Moodie's publication of the original documents from which it was professedly drawn, a strict investigation made by order of the imperial government into some of its charges showed them to be baseless, and the judges of the supreme court pronounced others libellous, yet so entirely did the work accord with the prejudices of a large class of people in England that it was

received with great favour, and for many years was regarded as authoritative.

On the 15th of July 1828 Mr. Fowell Buxton brought the matter to which it related before the house of commons. He stated that if any members wanted information on the subject of the treatment of the natives of the Cape Colony, he would 'recommend to their notice a recent publication—Dr. Philip's *Researches in South Africa*,—a work which at the same time displayed great colonial knowledge, and exhibited a strong picture of the injuries which the natives were sustaining.' He then moved 'that His Majesty be humbly solicited to cause such instructions to be sent to the colony of the Cape of Good Hope as should most effectually secure to all the natives of South Africa the same freedom and protection as are enjoyed by other free people of that colony, whether English or Dutch, and that His Majesty be humbly requested to order copies or extracts of the special reports of the commissioners at the Cape of Good Hope relative to the condition of the Hottentots and Bushmen, together with the papers given in to the commissioners by Dr. Philip and the memorials addressed to the colonial office by the directors of the London missionary society, to be laid before the house.'

At this time the duke of Wellington was prime minister, having succeeded Lord Goderich in January 1828. In this ministry Mr. Huskisson was the first secretary for the colonies, but in May Sir George Murray took that office. With the last named gentleman Dr. Philip had acquired great influence in matters concerning South Africa. He therefore concurred in Mr. Buxton's motion, which received general support, and was carried.

On the 2nd of August the resolution was forwarded to the acting governor, the secretary of state at the same time conveying His Majesty's special commands recommending the original natives of the Cape to his attention, in order that he might upon all proper occasions exert the authority entrusted to him for the purpose of securing to the Hottentots and Bushmen their 'freedom and the protection of the

laws.' The secretary transmitted to General Bourke Dr. Philip's publication, to enable him the better to appreciate the grounds upon which the attention of the king's government had been called to the subject.

Before these instructions reached the Cape, the ordinance published here on the 17th of July was received in England. Nothing could have met the case more exactly. But by Dr. Philip's desire, an additional clause was added to it, prohibiting its alteration, repeal, or amendment without the previous consent of the king in council; and in this form on the 15th of January 1829 it was ratified.

The book *Researches in South Africa* caused much sensation in the colony, where it was received as a highly overdrawn statement, from which many explanatory particulars known to its author were omitted. Mr. William Macdonald Mackay, one of the officials charged in it with oppressive conduct towards Hottentots, resolved to vindicate his character by an action for libel before the supreme court. The case excited intense interest throughout South Africa, for it was felt that it was not only Mr. Mackay's reputation, but that of the government and the colonists, which was at stake. When it came on for hearing, Dr. Philip's counsel disputed the competency of the supreme court to decide in the matter, on the grounds that the book was not intended for circulation in the colony, that it was not published here through his agency, and that therefore this was not the place to bring an action. The judges overruled this objection, but others were raised which necessitated the postponement of the trial until the following session.

On the 12th of July 1830 the case finally came on for hearing. It rested upon the correctness of certain statements in the work *Researches in South Africa*, which bore Dr. Philip's name as author on the title page, and one copy of which it was proved that he had given to a friend of his, Mr. Wilberforce Bird, controller of customs in Capetown. The courtroom was densely packed with the most respectable people in the country, and even the jury box was made use of to accommodate a party of ladies. The defendant pleaded

This was one case out of hundreds made far worse, where the offenders' names were published given. It is explicitly stated that as not within Dr. Philip's own knowledge.

that he had received the information upon which his assertions were founded from Mr. Thomas Pringle, who had published substantially the same account in England before the book *Researches in South Africa* appeared. Evidence was then taken, and it was proved that the charges made by Dr. Philip against Mr. Mackay in his capacity as landdrost of Somerset were incorrect.

On the 16th of July judgment was given against Dr. Philip for damages 200*l.* and costs, which, owing to the large number of witnesses brought from the frontier, amounted to 900*l.* The chief justice, Sir John Wylde, in a long review pronounced the statement concerning Mr. Mackay in *Researches in South Africa* a 'false and malicious libel,' Mr. Justice Burton characterised it as 'slander and falsehood,' and Mr. Justice Menzies termed it 'utterly without foundation.'

By the missionary party in England, however, this action was warmly resented. Memorials were addressed to the secretary of state in which it was assumed that Dr. Philip was in personal danger, and requests were made that he should be protected. Public meetings were held to raise money to defray the costs of the case, at which it was asserted by men of high position in society that Dr. Philip was suffering persecution on account of the noble efforts he was making to secure humane treatment for the poor oppressed natives of South Africa. Ignoring the value that an upright man should set upon his reputation, these people maintained that Mr. Mackay could have sustained no damages, as he had been promoted by the government after the publication of the charges against him. Very imprudently, reports of some of these meetings were made public in the colony by Dr. Philip's friends, and they tended to strengthen an opinion then generally held that justice or moderation could not be expected from the so-called philanthropic party in England.

After the resignation of Lord Charles Somerset some time elapsed before a successor was appointed. At length, on the 20th of March 1828 a commission was issued to

Lieutenant-General Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, in which he was appointed governor and commander-in-chief. He was then governor of Mauritius. On the 7th of September he arrived in Simon's Bay in the ship-of-war *Tweed*, with his lady, three sons, and three daughters. Two days later, on the 9th, he took the oaths of office.

Sir Lowry Cole was second son of the earl of Enniskillen and younger brother of Baron Grimstead. He was then fifty-six years of age. His lady was a daughter of the earl of Malmesbury, and sister of the wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Bell, secretary to government. As a military officer he had served with such distinction in the peninsular war as on several occasions to have received the thanks of both houses of parliament for his eminent and gallant services. His abilities were not of the same order as those of Lord Charles Somerset, but of the two he was the better qualified for the government of a colony. He was thoroughly upright and devoted to his duty, and never allowed passion to overrule his judgment. He had not so much power as Lord Charles, for the secretaries of state now issued direct orders upon the most trifling matters without first consulting the governor, and he was restricted from expending any amount exceeding 200*l.* without previous sanction.

General Bourke remained in the colony until the 7th of November, when he embarked with his family for England in the frigate *Undaunted*.

For some reason which was never certainly known, though it was generally believed to be mere hostility towards the measures of Sir Rufane Donkin, Lord Charles Somerset upon his return to the colony in 1821 permitted the chief Makoma, right-hand son of Gaika, with a considerable body of followers to occupy the valleys at the sources of the Kat river. This ground had been surveyed by Sir Rufane Donkin's orders, and he intended to locate upon it some Scotch families who had been approved of by the emigration commissioners, but who subsequently changed their minds and did not come to South Africa. Makoma, of course, made the strongest professions of friendship, and it was under-

stood that he would only be permitted to reside at the Kat river during good behaviour. The matter was not reported to the secretary of state, probably because it could not be reconciled with the governor's avowed policy of keeping the ceded territory altogether unoccupied.

Other captains with their clans followed Makoma, and in a very short time cattlelifting from the white people was resumed as in former years. The British settlers were particularly exposed to the robbers. Those who remained upon their ground were beginning to see that by cattlerearing they might obtain a comfortable living, and in 1822 and 1823 many hundreds of oxen and cows were purchased and brought into the pastures of Albany. But often a man, who in the evening looked with satisfaction upon a little herd, rose the next morning to find every hoof gone, and only a spoor leading always in one direction. Makoma was remonstrated with, and made various excuses and promises, usually trying to throw the blame upon others.

At length a settler was murdered by Kaffirs, and then the governor was roused to action. In October 1823 Major Henry Somerset was appointed military commandant of the frontier, in succession to Major Fraser, who had just died. Two hundred well-mounted burghers were quietly assembled, and the commandant was instructed with them and the cavalry of the Cape regiment to fall upon the robbers suddenly, and take compensation for the stolen cattle. A hundred of the Hottentot infantry were to follow as rapidly as possible, to support the expedition in case of need.

At daybreak on the 5th of December 1823 the commando, after a forced march of twenty-two hours, surprised Makoma's kraals at the Kat river, and seized seven thousand head of horned cattle. Though the Kaffirs were unprepared, they offered such resistance that it was necessary to fire a few shots at them, and two or three were wounded. No one belonging to the expedition was hurt. The cattle were driven to a military post established farther down the Kat river a few months previously, named Fort Beaufort, where all who had suffered from depredations were compensated,

after which five thousand two hundred and twenty-four head were restored to Makoma. That chief and his subordinate captains very humbly asked forgiveness for the events that led to the reprisal, and promised to keep their people from stealing in future. Why they were not driven out of the ceded territory, when so favourable an opportunity presented itself, was never explained by either Lord Charles Somerset or his son.

In November 1824 it became necessary to make another attack upon Makoma's kraals to recover stolen cattle. A strong party of farmers and cavalry of the Cape regiment, under Captain Massey, was sent on this duty. The commando seized four hundred and eleven head, and returned unharmed.

During the night of the 22nd of December 1825 Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, with one hundred and seventy men of the Cape regiment and a party of farmers under Commandant Jan Durand, entered Kaffirland to recover stolen cattle that had been traced to the kraal of Susa, a sister of Gaika, who was associated with a daring robber named Nyoka. The principal division of the commando crossed high up the Tyumie, while a smaller division, under Captain Armstrong, crossed the Keiskama above Fort Willshire. It was intended to surprise Susa's kraal at daylight, but as there was a very thick haze Captain Armstrong's division lost the way, and came upon the kraal of the Imidange captain Botumane. The approach of the horsemen was heard, however, and an alarm was given, when most of the people fled, though some prepared to resist. A few shots were fired, but no one was hurt. Botumane then made his appearance, and the mistake was discovered. A satisfactory explanation followed, which ended by the chief's furnishing guides to Susa's kraal. The morning continuing hazy, the commando arrived there in time to seize the horned cattle, but not the horses. The cattle were driven to Fort Willshire, where soon afterwards messengers arrived from Gaika claiming some of them as that chief's property. These were given up, and after those stolen from the colony were accounted for, the remainder of

the herd was restored to Susa. The night after the arrival of the cattle at Fort Willshire a soldier and a white man in service there strolled to a distance, and next day both were found murdered.

Though this system of reprisal was in strict accordance with Bantu custom, it does not seem consistent with European notions of justice. But no other method of checking robbery had been devised, except the plan of keeping an open belt of country between the two races constantly patrolled by soldiers. There were not sufficient troops on the frontier to patrol a line a fifth of the length of that from the Winterberg to the sea, consequently the other system was regarded as a necessity. Unfortunately each succeeding governor made alterations in the method of carrying it out.

Under Lord Charles Somerset its details were as follow :

When a troop of cattle was stolen from the colony, the owners applied for assistance to the nearest military post, as farmers were strictly prohibited from crossing the boundary except under command of an English officer. A party of soldiers was then sent to follow the spoor of the cattle, the owner or one of his relatives accompanying them to identify the oxen and cows. Unless rain had fallen after the time of the theft, there was no difficulty for a practised eye to trace the spoor, and at the first kraal to which it led, the cattle were demanded, or compensation for them. Sometimes the rule was to demand only an equivalent number, at other times a number equivalent in value, which might be four instead of every one stolen, Kaffir cattle being worth much less than those reared by the colonists. If the patrol succeeded in obtaining indemnification for the robbery, there was an end to that particular case.

But it seldom happened that losses could be made good in this way, and there was a constantly increasing account of unredressed depredations, until at length the authorities on the border considered it necessary to apply to the governor for leave to call out a commando and make a reprisal. If permission was given, a joint force of burghers and soldiers, under command of a military officer, marched to the kraal

suspected of being most deeply implicated in the robberies, and secured compensation. Every possible precaution against the perpetration of abuses was thus taken by the government.

Still it cannot be said that the system was free of abuses. Most of the charges against patrols and commandos made by Dr. Philip and some others dwindled away upon close investigation, but a residuum was certainly left that could neither be proved nor disproved. This is certain, however, that if real wrongs were perpetrated upon Kaffir clans by military patrols or mixed commandos, they were not regarded by the Kaffirs themselves as sufficiently serious to leave a lasting impression.¹ It must be remembered that from their point of view communal responsibility for the acts of individuals seems reasonable, though from ours it looks like holding the innocent accountable for the guilty.

General Bourke made a great change in the system. On the 11th of April 1826 he issued instructions that patrols were not to cross the border, unless the stolen cattle were actually in sight. On the boundary they were to stop, and send word to the nearest chief, who was expected to take up the spoor and recover the animals. In a few instances the chiefs so called upon complied, and naturally got into

¹ When the war of 1877 broke out I was sent by the government to act as diplomatic agent with Oba, son of Tyali and grandson of Gaika, and for nearly five months I was without other society than the people of his clan. They were the most conservative of all the Kosas in their habits, and those among them who were advanced in years had taken part in the events related in this chapter. It was one of the best opportunities I have ever had to gather information upon the olden times from a Kaffir point of view. No men could have been on better terms together than we were, and they opened their minds to me in a way they certainly would not have done if they had not known that I was familiar with their customs. We were living near the junction of the Tyumie and Keiskama rivers, where Botumane's kraal had stood from 1829 to 1833, and our nearest neighbours were Imidange on one side and Gunukwebes on the other. Cattle-stealing from the European farmers beyond our limits was rife, and no subject was more frequently discussed. Yet I never once heard of wrongs inflicted by commandos, in bygone times. The question of taking the district between the Keiskama and Fish rivers from Gaika was regarded very differently, and Lord Charles Somerset's act was in their view real injustice. I believe every person who has had long and intimate dealings with the Kosas will agree with me in this matter.

difficulties with the kraals to which they traced the cattle. The result of General Bourke's system was a series of quarrels among the border clans and the recovery of about one head in every ten stolen.

In February 1829 Sir Lowry Cole made another change. Patrols were thereafter to follow the spoor as far as they could, and were to retake stolen cattle wherever they might be found, but were not to seize Kaffir cattle as compensation. Commandos, when necessary, could act as in the time of Lord Charles Somerset, except that none but cattle with colonial brand-marks on them could be retained after seizure and inspection.

At this time—February 1829—a large portion of the ceded territory was in possession of Kosa clans. Makoma occupied the valleys at the sources of the Kat river. His half-brother Tyali, left-hand son of Gaika, had taken possession of the valley of the Mankazana, a stream which flows into the Kat; and remained there without leave, though without being required to withdraw. The Imidange captain Botumane, seeing others moving in without being disturbed, had sent most of his clan across the boundary, and had taken possession of the western bank of the Tyumie from its junction with the Keiskama nearly up to the present village of Alice. The chief himself had recently followed his people. In the same way Eno, head of the principal clan of the Amambala, had appropriated to his use the land along the western bank of the Keiskama, from the Gwanga nearly up to Fort Willshire.

From the Gwanga to the sea, as far westward as the Beka, the Gunukwebes had obtained possession, mainly through the agency of the reverend William Shaw, of the Wesleyan society. Mr. Shaw came to South Africa in 1820 as a clergyman with a party of British settlers, but in December 1823 he left the colony and founded the mission station of Wesleyville with the sons of Cungwa, on a feeder of the Tshalumna river. In January 1824 at the desire of Major Somerset he brought about a meeting between that officer and the chiefs of the clans that adhered to Ndlambe.

The conference took place on the heights above the ford of the Keiskama called Line drift. There were present the chief Ndlambe, his sons Dushane and Umkayi, with Pato and his brothers Kobe and Kama. The reverend Mr. Shaw was with them, and about three thousand warriors formed the body guards of the chiefs. Major Somerset was attended by three hundred burghers and soldiers of the Cape regiment.

The English officers and the chiefs met unarmed midway between the two forces. On behalf of the colonial government Major Somerset agreed to abandon the system of treating with Gaika as the head of the Rarabe clans, to acknowledge Ndlambe and his adherents as independent of Gaika, to deal with them directly, and not to molest them if they chose to settle in the territory between the Buffalo and Keiskama rivers. Since 1819 Ndlambe and Dushane had been living east of the Buffalo, and had been constantly in fear of being attacked again by the colonial forces. On their part the chiefs agreed to preserve peace, to abstain from thieving, to deliver up deserters, and to surrender all stolen cattle then in possession of their people.

In August 1825 the mission station of Mount Coke, on the right bank of the Buffalo, was founded by the reverend Mr. Kay, of the Wesleyan society. The missionaries soon identified themselves with the wishes of the people among whom they were living. These wishes were that the clans should make a general movement westward. Ndlambe desired to have the country about Mount Coke to himself, Dushane to have the land towards the sea along the lower courses of the Tshalumna and the Keiskama, and Pato and his brothers to have the district between the Keiskama and Fish rivers nearly up to Fort Willshire.

These aspirations were perfectly natural, for no people become easily reconciled to the loss of territory. The district between the lower courses of the Keiskama and Fish rivers had been the home of the Gonaqua tribe as far back as tradition went; it was theirs before their blood became mixed with that of Kaffirs, and it remained theirs after they had adopted Kaffir customs, and had become a Kaffir-speaking

people. They had moved westward into the Zuurveld, but with a view of enlarging their borders, not with the intention of abandoning their ancient home. When Cungwa was killed in 1812, and they were driven out of the Zuurveld, they settled here again, because no one denied that the land was theirs. In 1819 Gaika, who was never their chief, gave their country to the English governor. This was their version of the story, and in telling it, they carefully omitted to state that they had been among the most active invaders of the colony in 1819, and that they had lost the land in war, having been driven from it before the governor announced to Gaika that it was to form part of a neutral belt between the Kaffirs and the colonists.

Mr. Shaw urged the colonial government to give the Gunukwebes permission to reoccupy the district, but Lord Charles Somerset declined to put them in possession again of the jungles along the Fish river, which he considered would be an act of extreme folly. In January 1825, however, he consented to permit some temporary grazing privileges, which was the utmost that could be obtained from him. As soon as he left the colony, the missionary renewed the request, but Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset strongly opposed it. General Bourke referred the matter to Earl Bathurst, with a recommendation that the Gunukwebe clans should be allowed to occupy the lower portion of the ceded territory, and that Kaffirs should be permitted to come into the colony and take service with the British settlers.

In August 1826 the secretary of state issued directions that neither Kaffirs nor colonists should be allowed to settle in any part of the ceded territory; but when General Bourke's recommendation reached him, he so far modified these instructions as to permit the Gunukwebe chiefs to graze cattle between the Keiskama and the Beka rivers as far up as the Gwanga. This was sufficient for their purposes. Once permitted to cross the Keiskama to tend their cattle, they quickly moved in and built kraals, and in 1829 Sir Lowry Cole found that they could not be dispossessed without bloodshed.

At length an event occurred which made it necessary to bring Makoma to account. A small clan under a captain named Mtyalela had recently moved from the neighbourhood of the Umtata into the country north of the Winterberg, which was thinly occupied by the emigrant Tembus under Bawana. They were kinsmen of Bawana's people, but there existed a jealousy between the new-comers and those who had been some years in the territory. After a while a quarrel broke out between them and Makoma's clan on the lower side of the Winterberg. In January 1829 Makoma made a raid upon them, drove them over the boundary, and seized their cattle and killed some of their warriors on farms along the Tarka occupied by colonists. Bawana did nothing to protect his kinsmen, and was even suspected by them of sharing their property with Makoma.¹

The governor then directed Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset to call upon Makoma to restore to the Tembus their cattle, three thousand in number, and to retire from the ceded territory; but allowed him two months to gather his crops, which were then ripening. As he did not comply with the demand, two hundred burghers were called out to assist the soldiers, and on the 1st of May 1829 the combined force under Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, accompanied by Captain Stockenstrom, entered the district which he occupied. On the following day Captain Stockenstrom had an interview with Makoma, who professed not to know why he was to be attacked, and was ready to promise anything that was required. He denied having as many as three thousand head of cattle taken from the Tembus, but it was afterwards ascertained that he had placed them under care of the chief

¹ Bawana's people to the present time deny that he did so, but the suspicion led to a violent feud. A little later on Batsa, a petty captain and friend of Mtyalela, happened to meet Bawana alone and unarmed, and stabbed him to death with an assagai. In the confusion that arose, Batsa's followers seized a large herd of cattle belonging to Bawana's people, and fled with it into the territory now known as Griqualand East. To that part of the country they were speedily followed by Mtyalela's clan. These events are of little importance in Tembu history, but they once occupied the attention of a committee of the house of commons for several days.

Eno. The conference resulted in nothing. Meantime Gaika and the minor chiefs had been assured that there was no intention of disturbing them, and they did not interfere in the matter.

The commando set fire to the kraals, and seized a sufficient number of cattle to compensate the Tembus; but as Makoma's people did not resist, and retired before the troops, they were not further molested. They settled between the lower course of the Tyumie and the Keiskama, and Makoma fixed his residence near the mission station of Knappahope. A military post was established in the vacated district to prevent their return.

Within a few weeks after Sir Lowry Cole's arrival in the colony he proposed to the commissioner-general to form locations of Hottentots on vacant lands near some of the villages, and also on several farms that had been reserved for the use of the landdroots in olden times. Thousands of these people, released from all restraint by the fiftieth ordinance, were wandering about the country in a condition of vagrancy, and were regarded as a pest by owners of property. Captain Stockenstrom disapproved of the governor's plan, as locations near villages could be of no use to the Hottentots; but when it was resolved to expel Makoma from the Kat river, on the 17th of April 1829 he wrote from Uitenhage suggesting that the ground about to be cleared would be suitable for the purpose, and received a reply authorising him to carry out the scheme.

Several small streams unite to form the Kat river, and in their valleys the land is easily irrigated and is of great fertility. The plan adopted was to form a number of locations, each divided into plots of from four to six acres in extent, upon which a family was to be placed. Ground not adapted for cultivation was to remain as a commonage, each family having a right to graze cattle on it. The settlers were to remain five years on probation, at the expiration of which period those who had built cottages and brought the ground under cultivation were to receive grants in freehold, but all garden ground not improved within that time was to revert

to government. The number of applicants was very great, and it was impossible to make a selection where all had equal claims. Over two thousand persons were located at the Kat river, the majority of whom were ill qualified to occupy the position of independent landowners. Those who had been in service with farmers usually had a few cattle, but many of the others had no means whatever. They set to work enthusiastically, however, and in a short time the settlement was in a fairly flourishing condition. The government supplied seed corn. Watercourses were made, and a large extent of ground was placed under cultivation, some of the richer settlers assisting the poorer, though others derived their principal sustenance from the wild fruits of the earth.

In the course of a few years it was ascertained that the pure Hottentots were incapable of sustaining such efforts for any length of time, but meanwhile the prospects seemed highly encouraging to the friends of humanity. There was a considerable number of halfbreeds¹ among those to whom plots of ground were assigned, and they formed an element of comparative stability. The settlement was intended to draw away some of the people from the London missionary society's stations, which were regarded by the government as politically dangerous institutions; but Dr. Philip, who had recently returned to South Africa, perceived the design, and counteracted it by sending the reverend James Read from Bethelsdorp to reside at the Kat river. Sir Lowry Cole then stationed there the reverend William Ritchie Thomson, a clergyman of the Scotch church who had come to this country as an agent of the Glasgow missionary society, but who had accepted the appointment of government agent at the Tyumie in succession to the reverend Mr. Brownlee. The governor thought that by providing an able and zealous clergyman at the public expense, the London society's agent

¹ It is recognised that halfbreeds, whether of mixed European and Hottentot blood, or of mixed negro and Hottentot blood, are a much higher class of people than pure Hottentots. The cross between Europeans and Bantu, on the contrary, is supposed in most cases to be inferior to either parent. Some instances which have come under my observation do not support this theory, but I cannot absolutely contradict it.

would be obliged to withdraw, and interference by Dr. Philip be prevented;¹ but he was mistaken. The reverend Mr. Read remained in the settlement, and the mission then established is still in existence.

The chief difficulty that the Hottentots at the Kat river had to contend against was depredations by the Kaffirs, for these people found their way in by night, and drove off all cattle that were not strictly guarded. To enable them to defend themselves, the government supplied them with muskets and ammunition, greatly to the alarm of the frontier colonists, who feared that these weapons might be used as in the troubles at the beginning of the century. This alarm gained strength when it became known that Kaffirs of the clans opposed to Gaika were fraternising with the Hottentots and settling among them. But no disturbance of the peace took place for many years.

A census at the close of 1838 showed the population of the settlement at the Kat river to consist of two thousand one hundred and eighty-five halfbreeds and Hottentots and seven hundred and thirty-one Kaffirs. The Hottentots had in their possession two hundred and thirty horses, two thousand four hundred and forty-four head of horned cattle, and four thousand nine hundred and sixty-six sheep. To that time there was no magistrate nearer than Grahamstown, but Major Armstrong, the commandant of the military post, was then created a special justice of the peace.

In July 1828, with the concurrence of the imperial authorities, an ordinance was issued by the acting governor in council, permitting Kaffirs seeking service to enter the colony, but requiring them to obtain passes from the field-cornet or justice of the peace nearest the border. Hereupon numerous Kaffirs came over the boundary, professing to seek employment, but in most instances to wander about begging and looking for opportunities to steal. After a while depredations became so frequent that the frontier colonists were brought into a state of panic.

¹ Despatch from Sir Lowry Cole to Lord Goderich, of date 25 October 1830.

On the 25th of August 1829 Sir Lowry Cole suspended the ordinance for the admission of Kaffir servants, and instructed the officials to apprehend all who were wandering about without proper passes. He then hastened to the frontier. Upon investigation he ascertained that upwards of five thousand head of cattle had been stolen from colonists within five months, that only fifteen hundred head had been recovered by patrols, and that many individuals had been reduced to actual want.

He expressed regret at the error that had been committed of allowing Kaffirs to occupy part of the ceded territory again, thus bringing them within easy reach of the jungles along the Fish river. With the chiefs of the clans in that district he had a conference, when he informed them that he was determined not to tolerate robberies any longer, and warned them that if they did not prevent their followers from stealing he would act with them as he had acted with Makoma. They protested that they were doing all they could to suppress thefts, but said that among their people were evil-disposed men who would not obey them. This is a common excuse with Kaffir chiefs to Europeans. The governor, however, had made himself acquainted with their customs, and was aware that if they were really in earnest not an ox could be brought into the territory without their knowing all about it. He did not attempt to argue with them, therefore, but replied that he had said sufficient, and would merely repeat for the last time that cattle-stealing must be suppressed or the clans would be expelled without further notice. The chiefs saw that the governor was not to be trifled with, and found such means to restrain robbery that for several months it nearly ceased.

To overawe the Gunukwebes Sir Lowry selected a site for a military post at Gwalana, near the place where in 1820 Sir Rufane Donkin had tried to establish the village which he named Fredericksburg. The buildings were constructed under Colonel Somerset's superintendence, and in March 1830 a small body of troops was stationed there.

The portion of the ceded territory that was not occupied

by Kaffirs and Hottentots the governor resolved to allot to Europeans under military tenure. On the 2nd of August 1830 a notice was issued in which the conditions were announced in general terms, and applications for farms were invited. The commissioner-general was instructed to make a careful selection from the applicants, so as to get a body of trustworthy and able men on the ground. The farms were to be given free of charge or rent. The grantees were to occupy them in person, and to maintain a number of able-bodied Europeans capable of bearing arms, in proportion to the extent of the ground, so that a farm of the ordinary size of three thousand morgen would have at least four men upon it. The use of slave labour was prohibited. On these conditions Captain Stockenstrom issued grants between the Winterberg and the junction of the Koonap and Fish rivers to about a hundred individuals selected indiscriminately from the families of old colonists and recent British settlers, no other distinction than that of personal qualification being regarded.

Under this system the settlement of the border was being effected in a manner that has since been proved well adapted to the requirements of the country, when a despatch from the secretary of state put a stop to it. The mind of Lord Goderich had been poisoned by the calumnies concerning the old colonists poured into English ears ever since the publication of Barrow's book, and on the 26th of May 1831 he issued directions that Dutch farmers were to be excluded from the ceded territory. English settlers and Hottentots might be located there, but the ground was to be sold, not given to them. These instructions were followed in August by others that no crown lands in any part of the colony were to be alienated except by sale at public auction, and that one of the conditions of the sale should be the exclusion of slave labour. The governor attempted to induce the secretary of state to reconsider this decision, but without success. Consequently, on the 17th of May 1832 a notice was issued that thereafter crown lands would not be given out on quitrent, but would be measured

and offered for sale by public auction, after an upset price had been placed upon them.

The position of the press in the colony was still very precarious. By Earl Bathurst's instructions the *South African Commercial Advertiser* was being published under a license from the governor in council, which could be cancelled at any time. The rival newspaper had ceased to exist. On the 24th of May 1826 an extract from the *London Times* appeared in the *Commercial Advertiser*, relating to an official of the Cape government who had appropriated public money to his own use, and who was alleged to have been very harshly and unjustly treated by Lord Charles Somerset in consequence thereof. To an ordinary reader there was nothing to show that this extract was not an original article. It came to the eye of Lord Charles Somerset in London, who directed Earl Bathurst's attention to it, and produced original documents showing it to be incorrect. Earl Bathurst thereupon sent instructions to General Bourke to withdraw Mr. Greig's license.

On the 10th of May 1827 the *Commercial Advertiser* was suppressed for the second time. Mr. Greig then put out a handbill giving notice that he intended to publish an advertisement sheet, and wrote to the secretary to government asking whether it would require to be stamped. He received a reply that he must not carry out his project before obtaining a license. On the 13th he waited upon General Bourke with the proof of his intended paper, which he proposed to publish twice a week. The acting governor informed him that he must make a regular application for a license, which would be granted provided he would engage that the paper should contain neither political discussion nor private scandal, but advertisements only. Mr. Greig declined to make the application, and did not issue the proposed sheet.

On the same day a memorial signed by many of the principal merchants in Capetown was sent to General Bourke, requesting leave to hold a public meeting for the purpose of taking into consideration the circumstances

attending the suppression of the *Commercial Advertiser*. The acting governor submitted the memorial to the council, by whose advice he declined to grant the permission requested.

Mr. Fairbairn, the editor of the paper, then proceeded to England to endeavour to have the press liberated from the control of the executive branch of the government, and made subject only to the courts of law. General Bourke was in favour of this measure, and wrote to Earl Bathurst, recommending a free press with a law of libel.

None of the successive secretaries of state, however, before Sir George Murray would consent to modify the system under which periodical journals could be published at the Cape. From Sir George Murray Mr. Fairbairn obtained leave to resume the issue of his paper, with a promise that the press should be freed from the control of the governor and council, upon which he hastened back to South Africa, and on the 3rd of October 1828 the *Commercial Advertiser* appeared again.

In January 1829 the secretary of state transmitted to Sir Lowry Cole a draft ordinance for the regulation of the press, with instructions to have it published in the name of the governor in council. This was done on the 30th of April. The ordinance provided that the names of editors, printers, publishers, and proprietors, with their places of abode and other particulars, must be recorded on oath at the office of the secretary to government, under penalty of a fine of 100*l.* for every paper sold or delivered without such registration; that a copy of each paper must be furnished to the secretary to government; that the publisher must bind himself in the sum of 300*l.*, and furnish other security to the same amount, to pay any fines inflicted upon him by a court of justice for blasphemous or seditious libel; and that conviction for a libel tending to bring the government of the colony into contempt should debar any person from editing, printing, or publishing a newspaper in the colony again.

This law now appears stringent, but in those days it was

regarded as sufficiently liberal to meet all reasonable requirements. It removed from the government the power of interfering with the press, and referred to the judges of the supreme court the decision whether matter was libellous or not. Shortly after the ordinance was issued, quite a number of newspapers and other periodicals sprang into existence, but most of them were short-lived. Two newspapers, however, remain to the present day: the *Zuid Afrikaan*, partly in Dutch and partly in English (now wholly in Dutch), which was commenced in Capetown on the 9th of April 1830, and the *Grahamstown Journal*, a purely English sheet, the first number of which appeared on the 30th of December 1831.

During the government of Sir Lowry Cole greater changes took place in the appearance of Capetown than during any previous period of equal length since the erection of the castle.

Most of the old fortifications had become useless through recent improvements in artillery, and in 1827 the imperial authorities resolved to dismantle some and remove others. Those condemned as not worth maintaining were the redoubt Kyk-in-de-Pot and the whole of the fortifications and lines along the beach between the castle and Craig's tower, except Fort Knokke. Most of these structures had been familiar to the oldest residents from childhood. Orders were at the same time issued that the barrack at Muizenburg and the batteries at Camp's Bay, Three Anchor Bay, Hout Bay, and Mouille Point should be dismantled.

On the 24th of October 1827 the foundation stone of the Scotch church on St. Andrew's square was laid by Major-General Bourke, and on the 24th of May 1829 the building was opened for divine worship. A very pleasing occurrence after the first service was the presentation of 75*l.* towards the building fund by a deputation from the Dutch reformed church. The reverend Dr. James Adamson was the first pastor. He arrived from Scotland on the 11th of November 1827, when the Lutheran congregation kindly gave the use of their church to hold service in until the building then just commenced should be completed.

On the 26th of October 1829 the foundation stone of the Wesleyan chapel in Burg-street—now known as the metropolitan hall—was laid, and on the 13th of February 1831 the building was opened for public worship.

The members of the English episcopal communion made use of the Dutch reformed church until December 1834. In 1824 they proposed to erect a building for themselves, and appointed a committee to ascertain how many persons would engage to rent pews, their plan being to raise money on loan. But this scheme did not meet with sufficient support. In October 1827 the bishop of Calcutta called at the Cape, when General Bourke granted about an acre of ground in the lower part of the government garden, which the bishop consecrated. A subscription list was then opened for the purpose of building a church, but only a trifle over 2,000*l.* being promised, the design was again abandoned. The secretary of state having promised pecuniary aid, in August 1829 it was resolved at a meeting of the members to try to raise a portion of the capital in shares, to be repaid from pew rents, and two hundred and fifty shares of 25*l.* each being taken, on the 1st of September of that year an ordinance of the governor in council was issued, giving legal sanction to the plan, and granting 5,000*l.* from the colonial treasury towards the building fund. On the 23rd of April 1830 the foundation stone of the church—which was named St. George's—was laid by Sir Lowry Cole. On the following day, at the request of the trustees of the new building, the street upon which it was to face was renamed by the governor St. George's-street. It had borne the name of Berg-street for more than one hundred and forty years. The church was opened for public worship on the 21st of December 1834, though it was not then completed. The whole of the 11,500*l.* had been expended, and 2,000*l.* more were required to finish the tower and the internal fittings.

The old Dutch reformed church was too small to accommodate the congregation, and it was therefore resolved to erect another in a different part of the town. Some money was raised by subscription, and on the 18th of April 1833

the foundation stone of the church in Bree-street was laid by Sir Lowry Cole. Delays, however, took place, and the building was not completed until 1847.

A great many dwelling houses were erected, or rebuilt in modern styles. During a heavy gale from the 16th to the 18th of July 1831 six ships were driven ashore in Table Bay, happily without loss of life; but their cargoes, valued at 40,000*l.*, were destroyed. This disaster led to the government undertaking the construction of a stone pier from which anchors and cables could be conveyed to ships in danger of parting. The only wharf at this time was one close to the castle, that had been built by the Dutch East India Company in the most convenient place for its purposes, though it was so far to leeward in winter gales that boats could not reach the anchorage from it. The work on the new pier, which was at the foot of Bree-street, was suspended in 1833 by order of the secretary of state, on the ground of deficiency of revenue; but in the mean time, in anticipation of its becoming the principal place for landing and shipping goods, several large stores were built in its neighbourhood, and there was a gradual shifting of business from the lower part of the town.

After April 1831 St. George's-street was lit on dark nights with oil lamps, provided and maintained by subscription of the householders. Many of the best residences were in the gardens in the upper part of the valley, but the Heerengracht was still the most fashionable part of the town, though much of it was occupied with shops, the society or club house, the leading hotel, and what was termed a coffee house. The residents there speedily followed the example of those in St. George's-street. Street lamps, however, were still commonly regarded as unnecessary. Respectable females who went out in the evening were usually carried in a sedan chair, and a slave walked in front with a lantern. Early hours were kept, and very few people of the better classes remained out after nine.

At this time savings banks were established in the colony. There was previously a department of the government bank

open for the reception of small sums of money, and this was termed the savings bank branch; but in principle it did not differ from the other depositing branch. At a meeting held in the commercial hall on the 22nd of November 1830, resolutions were adopted in favour of the formation of savings banks on the same principle as those in England, and a committee was appointed to carry out the project. The government approved of the design, and on the 8th of June 1831 an ordinance was issued legalising it. On the 25th of the same month the first savings bank, properly so called, commenced to receive deposits in an office in St. George's-street, and thereafter it was open every Saturday evening from five to seven o'clock and every Tuesday from eleven to one. Interest was allowed at the rate of four per cent. In a very short time branches were formed at the different seats of magistracy, and were found to be of great service to the poorer classes of the people.

In March 1831 an association termed the South African fire and life assurance company was founded, with a subscribed capital of 30,000*l.*, and its office was opened in Capetown. It was the first company of the kind formed in the colony, though several English insurance offices had agencies here.

A mark of advancement in another direction was the establishment of the South African college. On the 14th of October 1828 there was a meeting of heads of families in the vestry room of the Dutch reformed church in Capetown, when a discussion took place upon the advisability of providing better means for the education of lads than the government free schools offered. No decision as to the method of meeting the want was arrived at, but a committee was appointed to frame a design and ascertain if sufficient funds could be raised. The gentlemen who formed this committee were Sir John Truter, late chief justice, the reverend Messrs. A. Faure, G. Hough, J. Kloeck van Staveren, and Dr. Adamson, of the Dutch reformed, English episcopal, Lutheran, and Scotch churches,

Mr. W. F. Hertzog, assistant surveyor general, and Mr. F. L. Mabile, a merchant in Capetown. Advocate Jacobus de Wet and Mr. D. Hertzog acted as secretaries.

After much deliberation and inquiry the committee resolved to endeavour to obtain a capital of 2,500*l.* in shares of 10*l.* each, which should entitle the owners to have their sons educated at a lower charge than others, and to employ the interest of this capital and fees for tuition in paying the salaries of professors and teachers. A prospectus was issued on the 23rd of March 1829, and the required amount having been subscribed, on the 4th of June a meeting of the shareholders was held, when fifteen of their number were elected to form a board of directors. The guardians of the orphan asylum, having more accommodation than they needed, offered a portion of their building free of rent for six years. A contribution of 50*l.* a year was promised from the masonic education fund, and was paid until 1846.

On the 1st of October 1829 the college was opened with about a hundred students. The first professors were the reverend Messrs. Faure, Judge, and Adamson, who gave instruction in Dutch and English literature, classics, and mathematics. There was also a teacher of French, Mr. Swaving¹ by name, and a gentleman named Woodward assisted in teaching general subjects. The college received no aid from the colonial treasury until March 1834, when a subsidy of 200*l.* a year was granted, and after that date two of the directors were appointed by government.

On the 21st of December 1837 an ordinance was issued establishing the college on a legal foundation. It provided that the council should consist of seventeen members, fifteen of whom were to be elected by the subscribers and the remaining two were to be government nominees. Ten were to retire every year, when successors were to be chosen. There were to be at least four professors, namely one of

¹ Of a good family in the Netherlands and well educated, he was sent from England by the secretary of state as Dutch interpreter in the supreme court, but owing to some peculiarity of accent his Dutch was nearly unintelligible to the colonists.

classics and English literature, one of modern languages and Dutch literature, one of physical sciences, and one of mathematics. A senate for the regulation of instruction and discipline was to be composed of the professors and two directors elected by the council. The government was to have the right of nominating five free students when the number of paying students was under fifty, and ten when the paying students exceeded fifty. The whole of the property belonging to the old Latin school, which had recently been administered by the bible and school commission, was transferred by the ordinance to the college council.

The next event of importance connected with this institution was a bequest for educational purposes. On the 21st of February 1845 there died in Edinburgh a gentleman named Henry Murray, who had been a merchant in Capetown during the early years of the century, but who left the colony in June 1817 and returned to Scotland. He was of a benevolent disposition, and his wife was childless. In his will he set apart a sum of five thousand pounds sterling, the interest on which was to be drawn by his widow until her death, when the principal was to be paid to the treasurer and finance committee of the South African college 'to form a fund for the gratuitous admission of such number of youths as the annual proceeds of the sum realised would afford to partake of and enjoy all the privileges and advantages the different classes professed to bestow, free of any charge or fees whatever, and that for such period or number of years as might usually be occupied in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the various branches taught therein.' He further made known his wishes 'that of the candidates for admission on this bequest those only be chosen from among the less affluent portion of the colonists, and the sons or descendants of the old Dutch settlers to have the preference.' The vacancies as they occurred were to be publicly advertised under the title of Murray's Gift at least two months previous to the day of election, and the boys approved of were to be subject in all respects to the ordinary regulations of the

college.¹ The first scholarships under this bequest were allotted in December 1857.

Mr. Murray must have retained pleasant remembrances of the Cape and the colonists, for after some legacies to relatives and friends, he directed the trustees named in his will 'to pay and make over the whole residue and remainder of his means and estate, heritable and movable, real and personal, in favour of the secretary and directors of the orphan house, Capetown, Cape of Good Hope, who were declared to be his residuary legatees, but in trust always for behoof of the said charitable institution.' The amount received by the orphan asylum from this bequest was 3,300*l*.

The increase of population in the Cape district made it desirable to establish a village at Zwartland's church. The first building lots there were offered for sale on the 10th of November 1828, and found ready purchasers. On the 21st of May 1829 the governor named the new village Malmesbury, in honour of his father-in-law.

In the extreme north of the colony the reverend Andrew Murray, clergyman of the Dutch reformed church at Graaff-Reinet, for a considerable time had been in the habit of holding periodical services at a place indifferently called Toornberg and Toverberg. In 1829 at the request of the consistory the governor consented to the place being renamed Colesberg. A village was laid out there, and on the 29th of November 1830 the first building lots were sold. On the same day the corner stone of a church was laid.

Sir Lowry Cole was extremely desirous of facilitating the means of communication between different parts of the colony, but there was no money in the treasury that could be used for this purpose. Without good roads, he wrote, the country could never become prosperous. Major Michell, the surveyor-general, having occasion to go over the Hottentots-Holland mountains, was instructed by the governor to inspect the road carefully, and report whether it could not

¹ An attested copy of Mr. Murray's will, from which these extracts have been made, is filed in the office of the master of the supreme court in Capetown.

be made safe at a moderate outlay. There were two other passages through the first great barrier to the interior: one, the French Hoek road, constructed by order of Lord Charles Somerset, the other, the old road through the Tulbagh kloof. But the passage over the Hottentots-Holland mountains was so much more direct for people living along the southern coast, that in their intercourse with Capetown they almost invariably used it, even at the risk of having their waggons broken and their cattle killed.

Major Michell reported that at an expense of about 7,000*l.* a perfectly safe road, with easy gradients, could be made. Upon this, the governor gave instructions for the work to be undertaken, and wrote to the secretary of state that he was confident the cost would soon be repaid by a toll. In reply, Sir George Murray declined to sanction it or any other public work whatever while the revenue of the colony was insufficient to meet the ordinary expenditure, and threatened to surcharge the governor with the expense already incurred. The principal merchants of Capetown then offered to guarantee the governor against personal loss; but the secretary of state, upon further representations of the great utility of the road, was induced to allow it to be made. Practically it was constructed with borrowed money, as the deficiency of the revenue was made good by drawing upon the capital of the bank, and thus increasing the public debt.

The new road cost 7,011*l.* It was opened for traffic by Major Michell on the 6th of July 1830, and was named Sir Lowry's Pass, amid the acclamations of a large number of people who had assembled to see a train of heavily laden waggons go over it, which they did with the greatest ease. The road was subsequently continued through Houwhoek. A toll was placed upon it, which more than realised the governor's expectations.

The expenditure of the colony continued to be in excess of the revenue, though in June 1828 the imperial government took over the charge of the Cape mounted riflemen. General Bourke balanced his accounts by drawing upon the

capital of the loan bank, and Sir Lowry Cole was obliged to do the same. Lord Goderich attempted to rectify this by retrenchment. In May 1831 he issued instructions that various offices, with salaries attached to them amounting altogether to 3,718*l.* a year, were to be summarily abolished. As other situations became vacant, they were to be filled by men with reduced salaries, or two posts were to be blended into one. The first of these orders was carried out, but the operation of the second was so slow that a succeeding secretary of state was obliged to adopt a more decisive measure. An account of this will be given in another chapter.

For some time past the northern border of the colony had been subject to the ravages of a band of miscreants, who had their stronghold on the islands in the Orange river between Olivenhoutdrift and the great falls. For about seventy miles the river spreads over a flat varying from one to seven or eight miles broad. This valley or bottom is filled with dense thickets, and from very few spots on either side is water visible. The main stream, however, hidden by the jungle, winds through it, and there are also smaller water courses branching off from and rejoining the main stream. During the greater part of the year the river is in flood, and then these streams are almost innumerable and frequently change their beds. The jungle is thus cut up into a multitude of islands, many of considerable size, some of which can only be reached by crossing four or five rapid unfordable torrents. These islands contain a great deal of pasturage, so that stock can be hidden in them most effectually. Honey also abounds, and fish is tolerably plentiful.

At the beginning of the century these islands were the retreat of the notorious robber captain Afrikaner, but he and his followers had long since abandoned them and gone to reside in Great Namaqualand. In his old age Afrikaner came under the influence of missionaries, and led a reformed life; but his son Jonker continued to follow the career of a marauder. Jonker's ravages, however, being chiefly directed

against the Damaras, he was almost lost sight of in the Cape Colony. Between him and the occupants of the islands in 1830 there was no connection whatever.

The leader of the later robber band was a Hottentot named Stuurman, who had in earlier years been connected with one of the Griqua settlements. His followers were chiefly Koranas and Grikwas, but among them were several fugitive slaves and desperadoes of mixed blood. He was perfectly indifferent as to whom he robbed, for he attacked indiscriminately the Batlapin in the north, the farmers of the colony in the south, and the Grikwas under the captain Andries Waterboer in the east, whichever at any time seemed most likely to furnish spoil.

His custom was to send out parties of fifty to seventy men, well mounted and armed, who appeared suddenly where they were not expected, and slaughtered all who attempted to prevent their driving away the cattle. In one year there were more than thirty reports from the civil commissioner of Graaff-Reinet detailing their atrocities. It is needless, however, to relate the whole of these, as they were all similar in character, and an account of one or two will therefore be sufficient.

In August 1832 a strong party made a sudden raid into the Nieuwveld, and found several graziers with their families and cattle near Slangfontein. They drove off all the stock, and murdered three colonists named Faber, Van der Merwe, and Steenkamp, as also Van der Merwe's wife. A commando of farmers, under the civil commissioner Van Ryneveld, followed them as soon as possible, but found them so well prepared for defence that after a harassing campaign of six weeks, during which the colonists underwent the severest hardships and privations, the commando was obliged to return unsuccessful.

In September 1833 a band of about seventy of the robbers made a swoop upon the farm of Jacob Swart at the Hantam, murdered three men and one woman, wounded four others, and carried off eight children with the flocks and herds. A party of forty-five white men and halfbreeds

was got together by Commandant J. N. Redelinghuys, and by riding for forty-four hours as hard as horses could carry them, they overtook Stuurman's gang while yet a long way from the river. An engagement followed, in which a colonist—Mr. J. J. Louw—lost his life; but six of the robbers were killed. The others then fled, leaving seven of the children, the whole of the cattle, two of their horses, and three muskets behind. What became of the other child could not be ascertained, and it was supposed that it must have died or been left on the road to perish. The men and the horses of the commando being alike exhausted, it was impossible to continue the pursuit.

Along the whole of the extensive northern border there was not a single soldier or a policeman, and there was no possibility of furnishing a defensive force of any kind. To meet the ordinary expenditure of the colony, paper money created as capital for the bank was being drawn upon year after year, so that there were no means of affording assistance to the farmers who were exposed to Stuurman's depredations.

Under these circumstances on the 6th of June 1833 an ordinance—No. 99—was issued by the governor in council to amend the commando law. It was always difficult to get men to leave their regular occupations and take the field, where neither honour nor profit was to be had, and where great hardships must be endured. Unless they were personally affected by the occurrence for which their services were demanded, they were apt to make excuses and to question the authority of the district officials. To meet cases of this kind a proclamation was issued by Lord Macartney, empowering landdrosts and other magistrates to call out burghers for military service, but without defining penalties for disobedience. This proclamation was the commando law until June 1833. The ordinance No. 99 gave to civil commissioners, justices of the peace, commandants, provisional commandants, fieldcornets, and provisional fieldcornets power to call out burghers in cases of necessity, and fixed the penalties at a fine from 5*l.* to 20*l.* for the first and a similar

fine together with three months' imprisonment for every subsequent refusal.

This ordinance met with strenuous opposition from Dr. Philip and from the party in England that supported him. The *Commercial Advertiser*, which was the organ of that party in Capetown, endeavoured to make it appear that the new law empowered a provisional fieldcornet to levy war upon the native tribes, and the ability with which that newspaper was conducted gave great weight to its views. It was at this time advocating a system of dealing with the tribes beyond the colony exactly as if they were civilised European powers, and laid it down as a principle that the governor should meet chiefs like Makoma upon a footing of the most perfect equality. The colonists who thought differently, and especially the colonial government, were frequently taken to task for not treating the coloured people with justice, or what Mr. Fairbairn, the editor, regarded as justice.

In England pressure was brought upon the secretary of state to advise the king to disallow the ordinance No. 99. In April 1833 Mr. E. G. Stanley succeeded Lord Goderich at the colonial office, and he referred the matter to Sir Lowry Cole for explanation. The governor did not consider the commando system a desirable one, but under the circumstances of the country he regarded it as 'the only possible means to prevent or punish incursions into the colonial territory.' With regard to the alleged unjust treatment of the coloured people, he observed that 'it might suit the views of some writers to hold up the local government and the colonists to the detestation of mankind, as the authors and abettors of a system of the most diabolical atrocities, and to represent the native tribes as the most injured and innocent of human beings; but those who had the opportunity of taking a dispassionate view of the subject would judge differently.'

In the condition of public opinion in England, however, the secretary of state had hardly a choice when a question was agitated by the leaders of the missionary and philan-

thropic societies, and on the 27th of November 1833 Mr. Stanley informed the Cape government that the ordinance No. 99 and Lord Macartney's proclamation also were disallowed from the 1st of August 1834.

Sir Lowry Cole was desirous of returning to England for reasons concerning his family, and in 1831 he requested leave of absence, which was granted by Lord Goderich. But upon further consideration, the governor expressed a wish to retire altogether, and the secretary of state gave him permission to transfer the duty to the senior military officer, if a successor should not arrive by February 1833. Major-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban, then governor of Demerara, was appointed to take his place; but that officer was unable to proceed to the Cape at once. After waiting until the 10th of August 1833, Sir Lowry Cole with his family embarked in the merchant ship *La Belle Alliance*, then ready to sail for England, and Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Francis Wade became acting governor. On the 16th of January 1834 the ship *Mount Stuart Elphinstone* arrived in Table Bay, bringing as passengers Sir Benjamin, Lady, and Miss D'Urban, and the celebrated astronomer Sir John Herschel, with his lady, son, and two daughters. On the same day the new governor took the oaths of office.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN, GOVERNOR,
INSTALLED 16 JANUARY 1834.

Particulars concerning Sir Benjamin D'Urban—Policy of the imperial government towards South Africa—Particulars concerning the public revenue, expenditure, debt, customs duties, the wine trade, production of wool, exports, and ships putting into Table Bay—Severe retrenchment in the civil service—Revised charter of justice—Unsuccessful efforts of the colonists to obtain a representative legislature—Creation of legislative and executive councils—Communications of the governor to the Kosa chiefs—Condition of western Kaffirland—Expansion of trade with the Kaffirs—Dealings of patrols and commandos—Preparation of the Kosas for war—Treaty between the governor and the Griqua captain Andries Waterboer—Particulars concerning slavery in the colony—Succession of laws limiting the authority of slave-owners—Attitude of the colonists—The emancipation act—Manner of carrying out emancipation in South Africa—Great distresses caused by the confiscation of two millions' worth of property—Agitation concerning an attempt to pass an ordinance against vagrancy—Extension of the postal service—Condition of the British settlers—Growth of Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth—Agitation for a distinct government in the eastern province—Abolition of the commissioner-generalship—Expansion of mission work.

SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN was the first of our English governors who was without powerful family connections. His father was a commoner, and his relatives had little or no influence with those in whose hands lay patronage. He owed his position to merit alone. He had served through the peninsular war as commander of a division of cavalry in the Anglo-Lusitanian legion, and since the fall of Napoleon had been employed chiefly in the West Indies. In 1815 he was made a knight commander of the bath, and in February 1831 received the civil appointment of governor of Demerara. When sent as governor to the Cape Colony his military rank was only that of a major-general. He was a man of ability, and still more of honesty of purpose, who did what he believed to be right regardless of consequences to himself.

Benevolent in disposition, he came to this country impressed with the belief, then common in England, that the coloured people were harshly dealt with by the Europeans, and that a better relationship to the border tribes could be brought about by kindness and confidence.

The new governor was sent to South Africa to carry out the views of the ministry of the day with regard to several important matters.

1. The civil establishments were to be greatly reduced, and such retrenchment was to be effected as would not only bring the revenue within the expenditure, but leave a balance to be applied to the gradual extinction of the public debt.

2. The system of dealing with the Kaffirs was to be altered, and a policy of conciliation by means of alliances with the chiefs be entered upon.

3. The emancipation of the slaves in accordance with imperial legislation for the purpose was to be carried into effect.

The financial condition of the country at the time was extremely bad. From the conquest of the colony in 1806 to the close of the year 1835 the public revenue remained almost stationary, notwithstanding the large increase of population, the imposition of a poll tax and taxes upon incomes, servants, and carriages, and the addition in January 1828 of the local revenue of Capetown and the district revenues, previously collected and administered by the burgher senate and the boards of landdrost and heemraden. Several causes contributed to this.

1. All taxes which were fixed in rixdollars and stivers, such as land rents and stamps, though nominally increasing in amount, decreased in value as the paper money fell.

2. The sale of the exclusive privilege to retail wines and spirits was done away with in Capetown at the beginning of 1824, and in the remainder of the colony at the beginning of 1828. In its stead licenses were issued as at present, at 112*l.* 10*s.* a year for each house approved of in Capetown,

and at variable rates in other places. In consequence, the revenue from this source fell off greatly. The licenses were written on stamped paper, and the proceeds were carried to the account of stamps.

3. The commando tax was only imposed from 1811 to 1830.

4. The system of business introduced by English merchants diminished the auction dues.

5. The reduction of the garrison after the fall of Napoleon caused some branches of the revenue to decline.

6. The duty on wine entering Capetown and Simons-town fell off with the decline of the wine trade, and was abolished altogether from the 1st of January 1835.

The state of the revenue and expenditure was not permitted to be made known to the colonists until 1831, except from such returns as were called for in the imperial parliament or were included in the reports of the commissioners of inquiry. There was consequently a vague impression that the revenue was much greater than the government knew it to be. In October 1831 Lord Goderich authorised the publication in the *Gazette* of periodical statements for the information of the taxpayers, which set the question at rest.

The various items of revenue are given in the following table, which shows the average yearly amounts during successive periods. Before 1826 they have been reduced to English money according to the current rates of exchange. The district and town taxes together with all the small taxes recently imposed are included in the item miscellaneous. The land rents are incorrect, because in the accounts of the treasury at that time arrears were included in the miscellaneous receipts.

The expenditure after 1823 was constantly in excess of the revenue, and was provided for either by loans or by drawing upon the capital of the bank. From the private fund of the orphan chamber a sum of 12,500*l.* was appropriated. The Hottentot regiment cost the colony about 17,000*l.* a year until June 1828, after which time this charge

AVERAGE YEARLY REVENUE.

	1806 to 1814	1815 to 1819	1820 to 1825	1826 to 1830	1831 to 1835
	£	£	£	£	£
Customs duties	16,103	27,377	24,853	20,183	17,616
Auction dues	16,924	15,650	14,722	10,853	10,948
Stamps	9,235	13,854	12,650	14,789	16,517
Transfer dues on land sales	5,735	11,239	9,003	6,520	7,876
Interest from loan and discount bank	9,098	11,042	11,090	9,847	8,480
Fees of office	4,466	7,991	8,362	4,882	4,985
Land rents	14,166	7,702	10,643	4,856	4,223
Taxes paid at the barriers on grain, wine, and spirits entering Cape- town and Simonstown	5,217	5,039	4,877	3,441	3,935
Port dues	715	1,433	1,146	1,129	1,451
Postage	726	1,119	2,039	3,002	3,812
Tolls	480	927	98	—	1,989
Sale of exclusive privilege to retail wines and spirits	13,715	12,559	14,850	4,175	—
Commando tax	1,361	4,538	3,528	4,774	—
Receipts of printing office	1,500	1,664	1,665	543	—
Miscellaneous	2,067	2,258	4,319	27,222	37,770
Total	101,508	124,392	123,345	116,216	119,552

was borne by the imperial treasury. Much the greater part of the revenue was absorbed by the civil, judicial, and ecclesiastical establishments; but schools had to be provided for, the leper asylum at Hemel en Aarde and the hospital in Capetown had to be maintained, the public buildings, the road between Capetown and Simonstown, that through the Drakenstein mountains at French Hoek, and Sir Lowry's pass over the Hottentots-Holland mountains required to be kept in repair, and various other expenses could not be avoided.

On the 31st of December 1835 the public debt of the colony was 264,768*l*.

The laws regarding commerce underwent many changes between 1806 and 1835. By an act of the imperial parliament, passed in April 1806, and subsequently renewed for prolonged periods, the regulation of trade to and from the Cape Colony was entrusted to the king in council, that is

the ministry for the time being with the king's concurrence could issue orders upon this subject that would have the force of law.

Immediately after the conquest, Major-General Baird fixed the customs duties on British goods imported in British ships at three per cent of the value, the same as the Batavian government had levied on Dutch goods brought in Dutch ships. On British goods brought in foreign ships or foreign goods brought in British ships seven per cent was levied, and on foreign goods brought in foreign ships ten per cent.

These regulations were only provisional, and were superseded by instructions brought out by the earl of Caledon and enforced after his arrival. British goods imported in British ships were then admitted free of duty. Foreign goods imported in British ships or British goods imported in foreign ships were subjected to a duty of five per cent, in 1809 raised to ten per cent of their value. On foreign goods imported in foreign ships a duty of fifteen per cent of the value was levied.

By instructions from England, all export duties were removed from colonial produce after the 18th of October 1811.

On the 1st of October 1811 an order in council was issued prohibiting trade to or from the Cape Colony in foreign ships after the 12th of April 1812. Ships belonging to countries in amity with Great Britain were to be allowed to obtain refreshments in colonial ports, and if in distress sufficient cargo could be sold to defray their expenses; but with this exception the commerce of the country was to be carried on exclusively in British vessels.

Up to this period Portuguese slave ships trading between Mozambique and Brazil were accustomed to call at Table Bay for water and other supplies, for though England had prohibited the ocean slave trade by her own subjects, she had not yet attempted to prevent its being carried on by foreigners. On the 13th of July 1812, however, the secretary of state issued instructions to the governor to prohibit intercourse of any kind between residents in the colony and

slave ships putting into the ports, no matter to what nationality the ships belonged.

For revenue purposes, after the 8th of July 1813 a duty of three per cent of the value was levied on British goods imported in British ships, now the only merchandise, except Indian produce, admitted into the country.

By an act of the imperial parliament which came in force on the 10th of April 1814 the Cape of Good Hope was for certain purposes comprised in the limits of the East India Company's charter. It was intended to encourage the formation of a *depôt* for Indian goods, and Cape merchants were therefore permitted to import merchandise of every description, except tea, from any part of the east except China, and to export it again to various parts of the world. Such merchandise could be kept in bond for eighteen months, and be released for exportation without payment of duty. Traffic of this kind was required to be carried on in British ships of a certain class, but was otherwise unrestricted. Less advantage was taken of the privilege, however, than was anticipated when it was conferred, and the benefit to the colony was not very great.

By an order in council on the 12th of July 1820, followed by an act of parliament in July 1821, trade to the colony from foreign countries in amity with Great Britain was thrown open, except in articles manufactured of cotton, wool, or iron, on payment of an import duty of ten per cent of the value of the goods; and foreign ships could be employed in such trade on the same footing as British. The customs duty on Cape produce exported in foreign ships was to be eight per cent of the value, unless equal privileges were granted by the country to which the foreign ships belonged.

By an order in council on the 14th of November 1821 customs duties on British goods imported into the Cape Colony in British ships were to be levied for revenue purposes at the rate of three and a quarter per cent of the value.

The fourth clause of a statute passed on the 5th of July 1826 recognised the general rule that every foreign state in

amity with Great Britain might import its own produce in its own ships into any British colony, provided the importation was made directly from the country to which the ship belonged. It further recognised that such foreign ships might convey from the British colonies any goods to any part of the world.

In the following year an act was passed to amend this law. It provided that a foreign ship could convey from the country to which it belonged the produce of that country to any British colony, and could convey from that colony goods to any part of the world. But this privilege depended upon the fact whether such foreign country before the 5th of July 1826 had granted similar advantages to the navigation and commerce of Great Britain. On the 16th of July 1827 instructions were issued by the secretary of state that no foreign country was to be deemed to have fulfilled these conditions, or to be entitled to any of the privileges in question, until an order in council had been issued in its favour. At the same time an order in council enumerated various countries which were to be permitted to trade with the Cape. The duty on goods brought in their vessels was fixed at ten per cent of the value.

These regulations continued in force until the 22nd of February 1832, when an order in council was issued repealing all previous enactments, and fixing the duty on British goods from British possessions anywhere except the East Indies at three per cent of the value. East Indian produce and goods from foreign countries were to pay a duty of ten per cent of their value. Ships belonging to countries in amity with Great Britain could convey to the colony any goods the growth, produce, or manufacture of their own countries, and could convey Cape produce to any part of the world, on the same terms as British ships. Hoops, staves, and casks used in the wine trade were to be free of duty.

From 1806 to the close of 1814 the imports were at the average rate of 105,026*l.* a year. English merchants, being apprehensive that at any time peace might be concluded and the colony again be restored to the Netherlands, made no

effort to extend the Cape trade, and only sufficient goods were imported to meet the most pressing demands. After the convention which secured the colony to Great Britain there was much commercial speculation, and goods were sent here for sale in greater quantities than were needed. From 1815 to 1825 articles were imported to the average value of 355,259*l.* a year. Then the trade became more settled, new markets on the north and east of the colony were opened, and the extent to which British manufactures could be absorbed was ascertained. From 1826 to the close of 1835 the imports were at the average rate of 336,647*l.* a year. In addition to this, after 1814 goods—chiefly East Indian—were imported to the average value of about 43,000*l.* a year, placed in bonding warehouses, and exported again without payment of duty. Nearly the whole of the imports were brought in British ships from Great Britain or British possessions in the east.

The exports of colonial produce were steadily rising. Among these wine held the first place. During the long war with France the British government held out great inducements to South African winefarmers to increase the quantity of their produce, and to improve its quality. Large premiums were offered to those who made the most, as well as to those who made the best wine. This encouragement, however, was trifling when compared with customs regulations subsequently adopted.

On the 2nd of July 1813 the imperial parliament reduced the customs duty on Cape wines from 43*l.* 1*s.* to 14*l.* 7*s.*, and the excise duty to 17*l.* 10*s.*, the tun of two hundred and fifty-two gallons. This gave a great impetus to the planting and enlargement of vineyards, the effect of which was not felt, however, until 1815 and later years.

No wine was permitted to be exported unless certified to be of good quality by an officer termed the winetaster, who was first appointed in 1811. This regulation had as its object to improve the quality of Cape wines and thus to remove the bad reputation which they had in Europe, but it did not answer that purpose, for after several years' experience

it was found that the ordinary wines were actually inferior to those produced before the appointment of a taster.

The act of 1813 remained in force for twelve years, the most flourishing period that South African winefarmers have ever known. Then came a change. In March 1825 the difference in the duties on Cape and other wines entering Great Britain was reduced. Thereafter French wines were to be charged six shillings a gallon if conveyed in British ships, six shillings and sixpence a gallon if conveyed in foreign ships; Cape wine was to be charged two shillings a gallon if conveyed in British ships, two shillings and three-pence a gallon if conveyed in foreign ships; all other wines were to be charged four shillings a gallon if conveyed in British ships, and four shillings and fourpence a gallon if conveyed in foreign ships.

Some slight modifications of this act were subsequently made, but with these exceptions it remained in force until October 1831, when it was repealed, and the duty on Cape wine entering Great Britain was fixed at two shillings and nine pence, and on all other wines at five shillings and six pence a gallon. The export of this article now rapidly fell off.

The wines of Constantia were in request in England at high prices. But there was seldom much of these to spare for exportation, as the local demand was large, and the Cape government compelled the proprietors of the two estates—Great and Little Constantia, into which the original farm was divided—to adhere to an agreement made in 1793 by their predecessors with the commissioners-general Nederburgh and Frykenius, under which each of them was bound to deliver thirty aams yearly at fifty rixdollars an aam. A few of the principal civil servants were accustomed to receive a keg each as a present from the governor, and the remainder was forwarded to the secretary of state for distribution among his friends. As the paper rixdollar fell in value, the proprietors of the vineyards remonstrated year after year, but they might as well have kept quiet, for the governor was obliged to take their produce from them. Sometimes, when

the vintage fell short, it was not possible to obtain the usual quantity, and then there was as much correspondence between Downing-street and Capetown about it as if it had been a matter of the utmost importance. The friends of the secretary seemed to consider themselves entitled to a keg of Constantia, and made an outcry if they did not receive it regularly. This continued until 1828, when Sir George Murray put an end to the distribution of the wine as presents, and required it to be sold on account of the Cape government.

Hides and skins had now come to rank next in value to wine in the list of exports. A large proportion of these were obtained from the Kaffirs beyond the eastern border and from the Griquas north of the Orange river. The Griquas were hunters by occupation. Fairs for dealing with them were commenced at Beaufort West when that village was founded, but in later years traders went among them and obtained great numbers of skins of wild animals in exchange for manufactured goods.

Many colonists were now devoting their attention to the production of wool, though this article had not yet attained a very prominent position in the list of exports. It had, however, passed the experimental stage, for by several farmers it had been proved to pay better than anything else that could be grown on their lands. Foremost among these in the western districts was Mr. Jan Frederik Reitz, who in 1812 purchased the estate Zoetendal's Vlei, and placed upon it a flock of the best ewes obtainable, which he crossed with imported merino rams. In three years by cross-breeding with pure rams the wool was fit for use. In 1817 Mr. Michiel van Breda, owner of the beautiful estate Oranjezicht in Table Valley, became a partner with Mr. Reitz, and the industry was extended, so that by 1825 the production of wool on this farm was about three tons, and in 1829 six tons, worth in Capetown eighteen pence a pound. Several other farmers in the western districts were also breeding merino sheep, though on a smaller scale than Messrs. Reitz and Breda.

Woolled sheep were introduced into the eastern districts by some of the British settlers of 1820. Captain Duncan Campbell, a half-pay captain of marines who subsequently became civil commissioner of Albany, brought out a few southdowns from England, and afterwards imported others on several occasions, but this species of sheep was not found to thrive. In 1823 Mr. Miles Bowker purchased two merino rams which Lord Charles Somerset sent to the eastern districts, and from them and African ewes he raised a small flock of wool-bearing sheep. But the grass in the part of lower Albany where Mr. Bowker resided was not healthy for sheep, and though the flock produced very fair wool, it did not increase in number. At the same time there was no market for wool in such small quantities, and several years passed away before it could be turned to account. At length a settler named Bradshaw, who had a loom, made an arrangement with Mr. Bowker to turn the wool into blankets, and a few women living near Bathurst, who had brought spinning-jennies from England and knew how to use them, were employed to make the yarn. Some coarse though durable blankets were manufactured, but after a fair experiment, in 1834 it was found that the industry would not pay. Mr. Bowker then for several years sold his wool to a Mr. Allison, in Grahamstown, who made hats with it. In 1835 most of his sheep were taken by the Kaffirs, but a few were left, which were subsequently removed to a farm on the Koonap river, and there increased rapidly.

Mr. Bowker was followed as a breeder of wool-bearing sheep by Major Pigot, who procured some merinos from the government farm Groote Post. The experiment, however, was on a small scale, and did not expand until several years later, when the progeny of these merinos came into Mr. J. Carlisle's possession.

More than to any of these gentlemen the credit for the success of this industry is due to three half-pay English officers, Lieutenants Richard Daniell, Charles Griffith, and Thomas White.

The first of these had been an officer in the royal navy,

and came to this colony in 1820 as an immigrant independent of government aid, bringing a party of fifteen individuals with him. He obtained as a grant the farm Sweetmilk-fountain, not far from the Bushman's river. Lieutenants Griffith and White came out as heads of parties of British settlers, and were located first on the Zonderend river, but ultimately removed to Albany. Previous to leaving the west, Lieutenant Griffith spent some time on a farm at Groenekloof, and observed how well the merinos thrive at Groote Post. After settling in Albany he purchased a small flock of halfbreed sheep from Mr. Colebrooke at Hottentots-Holland, and had it removed to the frontier. Lieutenants Griffith and Daniell then entered into partnership. From a man on the way to Australia who happened to call at Cape-town they purchased some pure merinos, with which they greatly improved their flock. After a short time the partnership was dissolved, when the sheep came into Lieutenant Griffith's sole possession, and increased to a considerable number on his farm Burntkraal, near Grahamstown.

Meantime Lieutenant Daniell carried on farming in the same manner as in England, with the result that he lost nearly everything that he brought to South Africa. In 1827 he took again to breeding merino sheep, and was so successful that at the beginning of 1832 he clipped ten thousand pounds of fine wool. At this time his flock was the choicest in the eastern districts, and his rams, being carefully bred from the purest imported stock, brought higher prices than any others in the market.

Lieutenant White, after some experience of South African farming, visited Europe and purchased in Saxony some choice rams and ewes, with which he returned to the colony in 1828. The stock from his estate—Table farm, near Grahamstown—was afterwards considered second only to that of Lieutenant Daniell.

By 1834 the industry was regarded as firmly established. In that year an eastern province joint stock company commenced importing rams and ewes of the best breed from Saxony, and a merchant skipper—Captain Robb, of the

Leda—brought as a speculation thirty young rams from Sydney, New South Wales, which were sold at such a profit that the venture was repeated on a larger scale.

From 1806 to 1814 the colonial produce exported was of the average value of 61,491*l.* a year, from 1815 to 1825 it averaged 198,446*l.*, and thereafter it steadily rose. The principal articles, with their average values during periods of five years each, were—

	1826 to 1830	1831 to 1835
	£	£
Aloes	2,012	2,204
Argol	441	623
Beef and pork	—	5,160
Brandy	296	469
Butter	4,599	4,710
Dried fruit	2,854	2,714
Grain	16,917	27,390
Hides and skins	37,454	62,829
Horns	3,904	5,431
Horses and mules	9,274	6,504
Ivory	4,362	2,438
Ostrich feathers	1,719	2,052
Tallow	297	11,108
Whalebone and oil	4,254	6,799
Wine	120,750	84,028
Wool	1,307	8,184
Other articles	7,972	11,003
Total	218,412	243,646

Nineteen per cent of the exports were from Port Elizabeth.

From the 1st of January 1806 to the 31st of December 1825 the merchant ships—exclusive of coasters—that put into Table Bay averaged one hundred and thirty-four yearly. During the ten years that ended on the 31st of December 1835 the average yearly number was two hundred and twenty-five. In the whole thirty years forty-seven wrecks took place in the bay, but the loss of life was very small, altogether not exceeding fifteen individuals. There were several disastrous wrecks on the South African coast, however, the particulars of all of which it is not possible to recover.

The financial condition of the colony was as here described

when Sir Benjamin D'Urban received instructions from Mr. Stanley immediately to carry out the scheme of retrenchment which Lord Goderich intended to be gradual. The salaries of the principal officers were all reduced. The governor himself was to draw 5,000*l.* a year, and be provided with a town residence only. The secretary to government was to receive 1,500*l.* instead of 2,000*l.*, the attorney-general 1,200*l.* instead of 1,500*l.*, the collector of customs 700*l.* instead of 1,000*l.*, the auditor-general 700*l.* instead of 800*l.*, the commissioner of stamps 500*l.* instead of 700*l.*, and the controller of customs 500*l.* instead of 700*l.* a year.

The district of Simonstown was to be joined to the Cape, and was to exchange its magistrate for a special justice of the peace. George, Somerset, and Beaufort were to be reduced to the rank of sub-districts. Throughout the colony the offices of civil commissioner and resident magistrate were to be united, and a salary of 500*l.* a year and a free residence was allowed to each. These changes were to take place from the 1st of July 1834. The governor was instructed to select the most competent of the old officers to fill the combined situations, and to allow the others small pensions. Accordingly, as civil commissioner and resident magistrate, Mr. P. B. Borchers was appointed to the Cape, D. J. van Ryneveld to Stellenbosch, H. Rivers to Swellendam, P. J. Truter to Worcester, J. W. van der Riet to Uitenhage, D. Campbell to Albany, and W. C. van Ryneveld to Graaff-Reinet.

As assistant civil commissioners and resident magistrates, each with a salary of 300*l.* a year, Mr. Jan van Ryneveld was appointed to Clanwilliam, Egbertus Bergh to George, Jeremias Frederik Ziervogel to Somerset, and Jacobus Johannes Meintjes to Beaufort.

These reductions were not applied to all officers on the same scale, and upon some individuals they pressed with great hardship. For instance, Mr. Wilberforce Bird, controller of customs, a man of talent and superior education, who had once drawn 1,000*l.* a year for the same duty, was now reduced to 500*l.* He was then in his seventy-sixth year, and

during a long period of service had given the highest satisfaction to the government. Mr. P. B. Borchers, civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the Cape, after over thirty years' service was reduced from 800*l.* to 500*l.*, and had the former district of Simonstown added to his care. He was, however, relieved of the task of trying police cases in Capetown, which duty was added to that of the superintendent, the baron De Lorentz. This gentleman, who had served as an officer in the royal fusiliers in the peninsular war¹ and in America, but who had only been eight years in South Africa, was reduced from 700*l.* to 600*l.* Mr. Crozier, the postmaster-general, after twenty-seven years' service, was reduced from 600*l.* to 400*l.*

The supreme court also underwent some changes in which a decrease of expense was kept in view, though the primary object was greater efficiency. On the 16th of June 1832 a new charter of justice was issued. By it the judges were reduced to three in number, and their restriction to barristers or advocates was removed. By the terms of the first charter they were appointed by letters patent under the great seal, now their commissions were drawn up under the public seal of the colony in pursuance of warrants under the king's sign manual. The patronage of the court was transferred from the chief justice to the governor. Two judges were to form a quorum, and in case of difference of opinion judgment was to be suspended until all three could be present. In civil cases an appeal to the privy council could be made when the matter in dispute was of the value of 500*l.* The orphan chamber was abolished, and its duties were transferred to the master of the supreme court.

An ordinance of the governor in council, dated 5th of May 1831, had provided that ignorance of the English language was not to disqualify persons from being jurors, and made all free men—except certain officials—between twenty-one and sixty years of age, who possessed land of the annual value of 1*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* or paid taxes to the amount

¹ At Salamanca he was once left for dead on the field of battle. In this colony he was regarded as an excellent magistrate.

of 20*s.* in the country and 30*s.* in the Cape district, liable to serve. The new charter of justice confirmed this principle.

Though this charter was acted upon as far as the reduction of the number of judges was concerned, by the removal of Mr. Justice Burton to the supreme court of New South Wales in November 1832, it was not otherwise observed until the 1st of March 1834. From that date it superseded the first charter of justice.

Before May 1833 the colony had in England a special agent—Mr. P. Courtenay—with a salary of 600*l.* a year. Messrs. George Baillie and Edward Barnard were then appointed agents-general for the colonies, and matters relating to South Africa were entrusted to the latter. Towards the salaries of these gentlemen the Cape was required to contribute 200*l.* a year.

The colonists were disposed to think that if they could obtain a representative assembly, many of the evils which pressed upon them would be removed. Early in 1827 a petition for such a form of government, signed by sixteen hundred persons, was sent to England, and on the 8th of June in that year was presented by Mr. Baring to the house of commons. After a discussion which showed that it would not be warmly supported, it was ordered to lie upon the table, and there was an end to it.

Three years later it was followed by another to the same effect, which was presented to the commons by Lord Milton on the 24th of May 1830. Sir George Murray, then secretary of state for the colonies, immediately opposed it, as in his view it would be the means of setting the Dutch and English colonists at variance, and would attempt by legislation to oppress the slaves and the Hottentots. His remarks decided the fate of the petition.

The next appeal was to the king in council. On the 16th of July 1831 a public meeting was held in the hall of the commercial exchange at Capetown, when it was decided to draw up a memorial, praying that the king might be pleased to commit the administration of the internal affairs

of the colony to a governor appointed by the crown, an executive council chosen by him with the sanction of the crown, and a legislative assembly composed of representatives elected by the inhabitants. This memorial was forwarded by Sir Lowry Cole to Lord Goderich on the 6th of January 1832. No immediate action was taken upon it; but in the course of the following year the ministry resolved to make the government of the Cape a little less despotic than it was at that time, by the creation of two distinct councils to take the place of the council of advice. Earl Grey was still premier, but Mr. Stanley had succeeded Lord Goderich at the colonial office.

On the 23rd of October 1833 letters patent were issued at Westminster creating a legislative council for the Cape Colony. It was to consist of not less than ten nor more than twelve members, exclusive of the governor. The military officer next in rank to the governor, the secretary to government, the treasurer-general, the auditor-general, and the attorney-general were to have seats by virtue of their offices. The other members were to be selected by the governor from the most respectable inhabitants, and were to hold office during residence and good behaviour, unless disallowed by the secretary of state within two years of their nomination. The governor and six members were to form a quorum. Meetings could only be summoned by the governor, and in them he was to preside unless his absence should be unavoidable, when the senior member present was to occupy the chair. The governor was to have a vote the same as other members, and also a casting vote when the council was equally divided. Decisions were to be valid on a simple majority of votes. Draft ordinances were to be published in the *Gazette* at least three weeks before being submitted for discussion.

An executive council was at the same time created. It was to consist of the military officer next in rank to the governor, the secretary to government, the treasurer-general, and the attorney-general. The governor was to take the advice of this council in questions of administration, but he

was not obliged to follow it if he saw good reason to act differently.

On the 25th of February 1834 Messrs. Pieter Laurens Cloete, John Bardwell Edden, Michiel van Breda, Charles Stuart Pillans, and Jacobus Johannes du Toit were gazetted as the first unofficial members of the legislative council. On the 2nd of April the first session was opened. All the unofficial members were present, and also Lieutenant-Colonel Wade, military officer next in rank to the governor, Mr. Jan Godlieb Brink, acting secretary to government during the absence on leave of Lieutenant-Colonel Bell, Mr. Joachim Willem Stoll, treasurer-general, Mr. Pieter Gerhard Brink, auditor-general, and Mr. Anthony Oliphant, attorney-general. As the governor entered the council room, a military band in attendance played the national anthem, and a salute was fired from the Imhof battery. The debates were at first held with closed doors, but an abstract of proceedings was published for general information.

In October, however, a number of gentlemen sent in a request to be permitted to listen to the discussions. Thereupon a resolution was carried that each member might admit one friend, and each newspaper have one reporter present at the meetings, so that from this time forward the proceedings were public except on extraordinary occasions.

Such a council by no means satisfied the colonists. On the 8th of October 1834 there was a large public meeting in Capetown, when it was resolved to send another petition to the king for a representative assembly. But the imperial authorities were not disposed to comply with the desires of the memorialists, and for many years no more liberal form of government could be obtained.

While the orders concerning retrenchment were in course of execution and the changes in the system of government were being made, Sir Benjamin D'Urban was unable to visit the eastern frontier to inaugurate the new policy which the secretary of state had determined to carry out towards the Kaffirs. If the matter had not been one of such importance to the colony, some of Mr. Stanley's despatches concerning

it would be the most ludicrous documents in our archives. A secretary of state, who holds office on the precarious tenure of the support of a majority in parliament, who accepts his post with no special knowledge of the countries whose destinies are placed for a time in his hands, and who is perhaps not long enough in power to acquire that knowledge, must always be liable to make great blunders. At this period the succession of secretaries was very rapid, but one followed the other without any having the slightest sympathy with the colonists of South Africa.

The governor was instructed by Mr. Stanley to 'cultivate an acquaintance with the chiefs of the Kaffir tribes by stationing prudent and intelligent men among them as agents,' and for this purpose was allowed to expend a sum not exceeding 600*l.* a year. Mr. Stanley was of opinion that 'if not all, many of those chiefs might be gradually induced in return for small annual presents of stores to become responsible for the peaceable conduct of their followers.'

Shortly after Sir Benjamin's arrival, therefore, he caused an official notification to be made to the several Kosa chiefs that he intended to visit the border as soon as his duties would allow him to leave Capetown, and that he would then enter into the most friendly arrangements with them. He hoped, he added, that on their part they would show the same desire for concord, and that they would give a proof of it by preventing their people from stealing the cattle of the colonists. Instructions were sent to the officers on the frontier, prohibiting the employment of force against the Kaffirs. Military patrols could follow the traces of robbers, but were not to use their arms except for purposes of defence in the last extremity.

A little later Sir Benjamin took advantage of a tour which the reverend Dr. Philip was about to make to the stations of the London society, and requested that gentleman to impress upon the chiefs that his intentions were most friendly, and that it would be greatly to their advantage to conduct themselves in harmony with his desires. Whether

Dr. Philip acted as the governor's agent on this occasion and made certain definite proposals to the chiefs, or whether he merely collected information for the use of the governor, is uncertain. The arrangement was verbal, and this matter was afterwards a subject of dispute between them. But it is beyond dispute that during the winter of 1884 Sir Benjamin D'Urban and the reverend Dr. Philip were on the most confidential terms. Six months later it was very different.

In the preceding chapter the history of some of the border chiefs was brought down to 1829. Makoma, right-hand son of Gaika, had then recently been expelled from the Kat river, and was living between the Tyumie and the Keiskama. Tyali, his half brother of the left-hand house, was occupying the valley of the Mankazana, Botumane with his Imidange possessed the western bank of the Tyumie from the present village of Alice nearly down to Fort Willshire, Eno and his clan of the Amambala were on the western side of the Keiskama, between Fort Willshire and the Gwanga, and Pato, Kama, and Kobe, with the Gunukwebes, were in occupation of the land farther down, between the Keiskama and Beka rivers, the Gwanga and the sea.

Gaika, Ndlambe, and Dushane, the three most prominent figures on the border during the first quarter of the century, had all disappeared.

The old chief Ndlambe must have been nearly ninety years of age when in February 1828 he died close to the Wesleyan mission station of Mount Coke, on the western bank of the Buffalo river. His son Umkayi was by birthright his successor, but being of feeble intellect, was supplanted by a son of lower rank, named Umhala. Umkayi was obliged to submit, but though left without power, he was treated with respect by the people of the clan.

Within a few months Dushane followed his father to the grave. His kraals were scattered over the country on both sides of the Tshalumna and on the eastern bank of the lower Keiskama. He left by his great wife a son named Siwani, who was still a child, and Siyolo, the heir of the right-hand

house, embraced the opportunity to secure as much power as possible.

Gaika survived his uncle and rival only nine months. Worn out with drunkenness and debauchery, he died at his kraal on the Keiskama, near the Glasgow mission station Burnshill, in November 1828. His great wife, Sutu by name, was mother of a son who was then only a boy. Though no one believed Gaika to be his father, this youth was regarded as the legitimate heir to the chieftainship, and Makoma was appointed regent during his minority. The boy's name was Sandile.

This event made Ma'koma the most powerful chief on the border. He was a man of medium stature, but was strong and muscular, brave, and possessed of great power of endurance. At this time inebriety had not set its hideous stamp upon him, and his open face and courageous demeanour made him a favourite with the English officers on the frontier. For a long time he had been regarded by his father as a formidable rival rather than a dutiful subject. Restless and daring adventurers from all the clans were constantly swelling the number of his followers, for his kraal was a refuge where they were sure to meet a welcome.

Another son of Gaika must be mentioned. This was Anta, who was by birth inferior to Sandile, Makoma, and Tyali, but whom good fortune made a man of note. Ntimbo, right-hand son of Umlawu and half-brother of Gaika, having died without issue, Anta was selected to succeed him, and consequently became head of an important clan.

Of late years mission stations had been greatly multiplied in Kaffirland. The London society had one where King-William's-Town now stands, and one at Knappshope, on the Keiskama. The Glasgow society had one near the source of the Tyumie, another at old Lovedale, farther down the same river, a third at Burnshill, on the Keiskama, and a fourth at Perie, near one of the sources of the Buffalo. The Wesleyan society had one at Wesleyville, on a feeder of the Tshalumna, one at Mount Coke, on the Buffalo, one at Butterworth with the Galekas, founded in July 1827, one at

Morley with a clan of mixed European and Pondo origin, founded in May 1829, one at Clarkebury with the Tembus, founded in April 1830, and one at Buntingville with the Pondos, founded in November 1830. The Moravian society had one at Shiloh with the emigrant Tembus under Bawana, founded in 1828.

Trading stations were also scattered thickly over the country. The articles chiefly disposed of were blankets, beads, metal buttons, brass wire, iron pots, axes, picks, and knives. Barter was accompanied by a great deal of talking. A man would not exchange a hide for a blanket until he had consulted a dozen of his friends who accompanied him, each of whom examined the article minutely. When at length the exchange was made, the trader gave a little tobacco or red ochre as a present, for until this ceremony was completed, the purchaser was held at liberty to alter his mind. To the Kaffirs time was of no importance. Hardly any profit could have compensated for such a method of doing business, if half a dozen articles were not being disposed of at once to different individuals.

Anything like a real friendly feeling between the Kaffirs and the colonists was prevented by the constant depredations upon the farmers' herds. In March 1830 the military patrols that were engaged in following spoors were threatened by Makoma and Tyali, and on one occasion a party of thirty soldiers would have been surrounded if they had not made ready to use their muskets to secure a retreat. On this occasion both Makoma and Tyali had sent their cattle and women to places of safety, and had bands scattered about, each consisting of four or five hundred armed men.¹

¹ The governor attributed the attitude of Makoma and Tyali on this occasion to indiscreet language used by Dr. Philip in a recent interview with Botumane. (See the evidence of Lieutenant-Colonel Wade before the committee of the house of commons in 1836, published in an imperial blue-book). But I am convinced that this is an error. Dr. Philip could have had no influence whatever with any of the Kosa captains at that time, for in private they would certainly have ridiculed anyone holding his opinions. After 1836, when it was proclaimed at every kraal in the country that it was by his agency the ceded territory was restored to them, they of course attached great

Owing to the defiant attitude of the chiefs, a commando was called out to recover the stolen cattle in their possession. On the 17th of June 1830 the burghers assembled at Fort Willshire, and the final plan of operations was agreed upon. It was resolved to surprise the kraals of four petty captains subject to Makoma and Tyali, which were situated beyond the Keiskama, as it was considered likely that the chiefs would anticipate a visit to their own residences, and would therefore take care to have the cattle at a distance.

One of the captains, named Magugu, was subject to Makoma. At his kraal so much plunder was found that the officer in command thought it right to make him a prisoner, and he was taken to Fort Willshire, but was there released. That his kraal was so successfully surprised was due to the Gunukwebe captain Kobe, who acted as guide on the occasion. Two of the others against whom divisions of the commando marched received warning in time, and consequently no cattle of any kind were found at their places.

The fourth kraal was under a petty captain named Seko (correct Kaffir spelling Sigcawu¹), an offshoot of the house of Rarabe and a dependent of Tyali. Against this kraal a division of the commando, consisting of a party of burghers under Fieldcornet Pieter Erasmus, marched. The expedition was successful in surprising the place, and found there a large number of cattle stolen from the colonists—some quite recently. The whole herd was seized, and Fieldcornet Erasmus informed the captain that it would be taken to Fort

importance to what he said. The cause of the chiefs' conduct cannot be ascertained from Kaffir sources. In all probability they were merely trying how far they could go without actually provoking war, for the changes in the frontier system had made them doubt the power of the government to act as in Lord Charles Somerset's time.

¹ Many Kaffir proper names have significant meanings. As instances, Sigcawu, literally a big spider, indicates a very astute person. The present Tembu chief of highest rank has the name Dalindyabo, which means creator of wealth, from the roots uku dala, to create, and indyabo, riches. He obtained the name from having been born during a very plentiful harvest. The reverend Mr. Hargreaves has the name Uzwinye, which means one word, from the roots izwi, a word, and nye, one. He is so called from constantly warning the people of his station of a particular danger.

Willshire, where the stolen cattle would be selected and the remainder be restored to him. Seko requested that the milk cows might be left, otherwise the children would be hungry and the calves would die. The fieldcornet consented, and the cows were driven out. The party then left the kraal with about two thousand five hundred head of cattle.

The captain himself and six or eight of his men volunteered to assist in driving the herd, and were allowed to do so, but not to take their assagais with them. After a time a neck of land covered with bushes was reached, when suddenly there was a great shout in front and a peculiar shrill whistling which Kaffirs use when driving cattle. The whole herd instantly turned about and nearly trampled down the farmers. At the same time an assagai whizzed past one of them. In the dust that was raised some Kaffirs were seen, but the confusion was so great that no one knew the whole circumstances. Several farmers raised their guns and fired, when Seko and six of his men fell dead. The body of the chief was found with an assagai, which he must have obtained from one of his people just before he fell, and which furnished proof of his being implicated in the attempted rescue. The Kaffirs succeeded in driving off about nine hundred head of cattle, and with the remaining sixteen hundred the expedition reached Fort Willshire.

Shortly afterwards Tyali arrived at the fort, and claimed a good many of the cattle as his property. He was allowed to drive out those which he selected, until some were identified as belonging to colonists, when he was ordered to desist.

This event had the effect of diminishing depredations for a time, but in 1833 they were resumed on a very extensive scale. Sir Lowry Cole then resolved to expel Tyali from the valley of the Mankazana, and in September a military force was sent to drive him out. He did not resist, but retired quietly to the land along the Gaga, from its source to its junction with the Tyumie. There he gave as much trouble as in his former home.

When Lieutenant-Colonel Wade became acting governor, he caused a strict inquiry to be made into matters in the

ceded territory. He found that in 1832 Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset had given Makoma leave to cross the Tyumie with a few followers, and that now the greater portion of his clan was on the western bank, mixed with Botumane's people. Colonel Somerset was in Europe on leave, and Lieut.-Col. England was acting commandant of the frontier. No reason except Colonel Somerset's partiality for Makoma could be imagined for the permission given to him. Tyali's people had only to cross the ridge which separated the sources of the Gaga from those of the Mankazana, to be in a position to plunder at will.

Under these circumstances Colonel Wade practically defined a new boundary. The wording of the notice in the *Gazette* issued after Lord Charles Somerset's arrangement with Gaika in 1819 was somewhat obscure, and the Gaga was not named in it. Another branch of the Tyumie a little higher up better answered the description there given. This stream—named the Kurukuru—rises a short distance below the mission station founded by Mr. Brownlee, and falls into the Tyumie where the commonage of the present village of Alice commences. The dividing ridge between the Kat and the Tyumie approaches the last named stream much more closely at the sources of the Kurukuru than at the sources of the Gaga, so that the higher tributary was much the better boundary. It cut off from Kaffirland the beautiful site of the present Lovedale missionary institution and several square miles of fertile land now in possession of Fingos.

In November 1833 Captain Robert Scott Aitchison, of the Cape mounted rifles, was directed to remove Tyali beyond the Kurukuru, and Makoma and Botumane beyond the Tyumie. They did not attempt to resist, but retired quietly with all their movable property. Their women were afterwards permitted to cross over and tend the gardens until the millet and pumpkins were ripe, and could be taken away. Colonel Somerset returned and resumed his command in February 1834. He gave Makoma leave to settle in the ceded territory again; but Captain Duncan Campbell, civil

commissioner of Albany and Somerset, represented the imprudence of this step so strongly to government that the Kaffirs were once more ordered out. Thus there had been constant vacillation in the dealings of the European authorities towards the Kosas on the border.

To the Kaffirs it appeared as if the white people must be very weak or very foolish. A farmer had, for instance, ten oxen stolen from him. The spoor was followed, and two were recovered at a kraal. Was not this presumptive evidence that the other eight had been brought there also, and had either been slaughtered or driven farther away? Yet the patrol could only take the two that were found, and the thieves' own cattle were perfectly safe. Surely people who acted thus must be unable to maintain their own rights, or be very silly indeed.

To the Gaikas it seemed also as if the colonial government had completely changed sides in their feuds. With the death of Ndlambe, some of the old rivalry had died out; but between Makoma's people and the Gunukwebes it remained as strong as ever. Now the Gunukwebes were permitted to occupy the land between the Keiskama and the Beka, and of all the clans that had at any time taken part with Gaika, only the one under Eno was left in the ceded territory. The feeling on this question among the followers of Makoma and Tyali was very bitter indeed, sufficiently so to make them think of taking up arms against the colony. They could now count upon much the greater number of the western Kosas being on their side. Umha^{la}, whose title against his half-brother Umkayi was weak, looked upon them for support, and was one of their strongest allies. Siyolo too, who was seeking power at the expense of the youth Siwani, was wholly with them.

The condition of western Kaffirland in 1834 was thus one of readiness for war. The assagai makers were busy manufacturing weapons, and the chiefs were tampering with the Hottentots of the Cape corps and of the settlement at the Kat river. But the missionaries and the traders in the country noticed nothing amiss, and the only indication that

the colonists had of matters not being in their usual state was that horses instead of horned cattle seemed now to be preferred by robbers.

Although Sir Benjamin D'Urban was unable to visit the eastern border during 1834, he managed to initiate the new policy devised by the secretary of state for dealing with the native tribes. In preceding chapters an account has been given of the settlement of various people of Hottentot and mixed blood in the territory near the junction of the Vaal and Orange rivers, and of their adoption of the name Griquas, which the reverend Mr. Campbell gave to them. For some years they were nominally under the government of the captains Barend Barends and Adam and Cornelius Kok, but, being attached to the wandering life of hunters, in reality many of them submitted to no government at all. In 1820 all the captains moved away from Griquatown, the principal mission station in that part of the country, which was thus left without a ruler of any kind. The missionaries then persuaded the people of the station to elect a captain, and their choice fell upon a man named Andries Waterboer, who was an assistant teacher in the school.

Waterboer proved himself competent for the situation. He knew how to preserve order, he was a capable leader in warlike excursions, and he worked harmoniously with the missionaries. He even declared that he governed as a vassal of the London society. His authority indeed did not extend beyond Griquatown and its outposts, but on every possible occasion thereafter the missionaries put him forward as a person of importance. Towards the close of 1834 the reverend Peter Wright brought him to Capetown, to be present at the festivities connected with the emancipation of the slaves, and there he won great favour by his correct conduct and sensible remarks at public meetings.

It was represented to Sir Benjamin D'Urban that if Waterboer's people were supplied with guns and ammunition they might be of great service to the colony by driving Stuurman's robber gang from the islands in the Orange river. They as well as the farmers were exposed to depredations

by the banditti, and they were so close by that they could seize any favourable opportunity for attack. The governor needed very little prompting. Waterboer and nearly all his followers were born in the colony, but there was no desire to regard them as British subjects. They wished to be independent, and difficulties were not placed in their way.

Under these circumstances, on the 11th of December 1834 the first formal written treaty entered into between the English authorities in South Africa and a native ruler was signed at Capetown. In it Waterboer engaged to be the faithful friend and ally of the colony, to preserve order in his territory, to restrain and punish any attempt to violate the peace of the colony by people living within his country, to seize and send back any criminals or fugitives from the colony, to protect that portion of the colonial border opposite to his own—namely from Kheis along the Orange river to Ramah—against marauders from the interior who might attempt to pass through his territory, to assist the colonial authorities in any enterprise for the recovery of property or the apprehending of banditti who might take refuge in the jungle or other fastnesses along the above line, to give information of any intended predatory or hostile attempts against the colony which might come to his knowledge, and to coöperate cordially and in all good faith with the colonial government in preserving peace and extending civilisation among the native tribes.

On the other part, the governor engaged that a yearly stipend of one hundred pounds sterling should be paid to Waterboer; that he should be supplied with two hundred muskets and a reasonable quantity of ammunition, as occasion might require; and that fifty pounds sterling a year should be paid to the mission at Griquatown in aid of the school, especially for the instruction of the children in the English language.

To facilitate the observance of these engagements, the governor undertook to appoint an agent to reside at Griquatown, whom Waterboer bound himself to protect, and with whom he promised to communicate confidentially upon all

matters concerning his territory and the colony. The confidential agent, who was named in the treaty, was the reverend Peter Wright, the missionary at the station.

This treaty met with the entire approval of the imperial authorities. On the 11th of April 1835 the earl of Aberdeen, who was then secretary of state for the colonies, wrote to Sir Benjamin D'Urban expressing the high satisfaction of the king's government with it, and declaring that this was 'the only policy which it became Great Britain to observe and steadfastly to pursue in regard to the native tribes.'

During the ten years preceding 1834 the country had been kept in constant agitation by the ever-increasing stringency of the laws for weakening the authority of slave-owners over their slaves.

The introduction of negroes as servants into South Africa was one of the greatest moral and political blunders that could have been made. The climate is such that Europeans enjoy robust health, and there is no field of industry to which they cannot adapt themselves. A gardener who should stock his ground with inferior plants would be considered foolish, what then must be said of a government that deliberately introduced people of the most prolific and least improvable race into one of the choicest parts of the earth. Plants may be rooted out, but the negro once in a country in which he can thrive is there for ever. It is, however, useless now to moralise upon the subject, for there is no possibility of a remedy of any kind being devised.

During the whole period that the Dutch East India Company held the colony slaves were brought into it, but not in very large numbers, for their services could only be made remunerative to a limited extent. From 1796 to 1802 more were imported than at any period of equal length before or since. The trade was then legal and profitable, and English energy was directed to make the most of it. One of Lord Macartney's proclamations and certain customs regulations of that governor appear to restrict it, but they were not intended for that purpose. There had been some attempts to smuggle in slaves without payment of the

import duties, and there were parts of the African coast which were closed by the English government as much as possible against trade, because the French were known to obtain supplies of provisions taken there in commerce. Under these circumstances, Lord Macartney declared the importation and sale of slaves, without the previous license and sanction of the government, punishable with a fine of two thousand rixdollars for the first offence, of five thousand rixdollars for the second, and of confiscation of the ship and cargo for the third. The purchasers of slaves introduced without license were declared to be liable to a fine of a thousand rixdollars, and the slaves were to be entitled to their freedom and to be sent back to their native country.

Under the short Dutch administration from 1803 to 1805 measures were contemplated for putting an end to slavery. In the ordinance for regulating customs duties slaves are classified—a man at twenty-five rixdollars, a woman at twenty rixdollars, and a child under twelve years of age at fifteen rixdollars;—but as early as the 11th of April 1803 it was made known in the *Gazette* that until further notice the government would not grant permission to import cargoes of slaves, and in point of fact it never did. Under special circumstances a few were allowed to be landed from foreign ships that put into Table Bay, but beyond that neither Mr. De Mist nor General Janssens would go. There can be no doubt whatever that if the Batavian government had remained in possession of the colony a couple of years longer every child born thereafter would have been declared free.

The suppression of the foreign slave trade by the British government followed so closely upon the second conquest of the colony that there was only time in the interval for five hundred negroes to be imported. From that date the increase in the slave population was due to the large excess of births over deaths, which much more than compensated for the number emancipated.

With regard to the treatment of slaves in South Africa, all observers whose opinion is worthy of respect were agreed that in no other part of the world did bondage sit so lightly.

In ploughing and harvesting on cornfarms the work might be termed hard, but even then it was not more severe than that performed by an English labourer. As far as food, clothing, lodging, and abstinence from excessive toil were concerned, the slaves upon the whole had nothing to complain of. The testimony upon this point is practically unanimous. All the English governors and officials of position who reported upon the subject were agreed in this. Their statements might be condensed into a sentence used by Lord Charles Somerset in a despatch to Earl Bathurst: 'No portion of the community is better off or happier perhaps than the domestic slave in South Africa.'

Still, to a modern European mind, judging the sentiments of negroes from those of Englishmen, the condition of the bondsmen was intolerable. They could be bought and sold like cattle, they were without family ties, they were subject to the caprice of any one who happened to own them, a mother and her children could be widely separated. There were occasional cases of slaves being treated with excessive rigour, and crimes of violence were sometimes perpetrated upon them. These could be redressed by law, but it was not always that a slave knew how to bring his case before a court.

There never was an attempt in South Africa to defend the system in theory. Indeed, it was a common observation that it was worse for the white man, who had all the care and anxiety, than for the negro, who had only manual labour to perform. But there is great difficulty in disturbing any system, good or bad, that has long been interwoven with the life of a people. In the Cape Colony money to the amount of over three million pounds sterling was invested in slaves, and was secured not alone by ordinary law, but by the terms of the capitulation to the British forces.

In this condition the matter remained until the general peace which followed the fall of Napoleon, when something was needed to take the place in men's minds that had been occupied by the stirring events of war.

On the 26th of April 1816 a proclamation was issued by

Lord Charles Somerset providing for a complete record of slave property and the prevention of any addition to it. A register was opened in each district, and was placed under the immediate inspection of the landdrost, but the person employed in keeping it was subject to the control of an officer in Capetown who was called the inspector of the registry. Duplicates of all entries were forwarded to the chief office in Capetown. Certificates of sale were required to be given on stamps of five rixdollars, and were subject to an additional fee of like amount towards defraying the expenses of the establishment. A penalty of one hundred rixdollars was imposed upon all who should neglect to notify each case of manumission, death, inheritance, or change of property; and those who should delay to make a return of their slaves or to comply with the other regulations beyond the 31st of March—afterwards extended to the 1st of September—1817 for the districts of the Cape and Simonstown, and beyond the end of that year for the other districts, were regarded as having manumitted their slaves. Infants whose births were not registered within six months were free.

In September 1819 an act was passed by the imperial parliament, by which an office was established in London for the registration of the slaves in the colonies, and the method of carrying out the system at the Cape was thereafter made uniform with that adopted in England.

The next legislation on the subject was a very important proclamation issued on the 18th of March 1823 by Lord Charles Somerset, under direction of the imperial government. Its principal clauses provided that no slave should be compelled to perform other labour on the sabbath day than work of necessity; that slaves professing Christianity might be manumitted without payment of the fee of fifty rixdollars to the church; that in the towns and villages proprietors should send slave children from three to ten years of age to school at least three days in each week; that baptized slaves might intermarry with their proprietors' consent; that such marriages should be performed by the clergymen without payment; that after such marriages

husband and wife could not be sold apart, nor could their children under ten years of age be sold separately from them except by a decree of the high court of justice; that in no case should children under eight years of age be sold separately from their mothers; that slaves might acquire property by work during extra hours, donation, inheritance, or any other honest means, and could do with such property whatever they chose, either during life or by will; that every slave should be provided with sufficient clothing and food of a wholesome kind; that slaves should not be employed in field labour more than ten hours a day in winter and twelve hours a day in summer, except in ploughing or harvesting, when they should receive payment for the extra work, and might require the amount of such payment to be fixed by the local magistrate; that only mild domestic punishment, not exceeding twenty-five cuts with a rod or similar implement, should be inflicted on a slave, and that punishment should not be repeated within twenty-four hours.

There were several other clauses of less practical importance. Penalties for the infringement of each provision, in no case less than ten rixdollars, were to be inflicted by the landdrost of the district upon the transgressing master. And to make detection easy, one-third of the fines under the proclamation was to be paid to the informer. The other two-thirds were to be placed to account of a fund for the purchase and emancipation of slave girls.

This proclamation was not objected to by the colonists at first, for it conferred upon the slaves very few privileges that the well-behaved among them were not already in possession of. But symptoms of intractability soon appeared in many slaves, who found their masters' power limited by law, and that they had now as a right what previously they had received as an indulgence. Insubordination rapidly gained ground, and the old feelings of attachment between the proprietors and their dependents became weakened. In several places almost at the same time very disorderly conduct on the part of the slaves occurred, so that the fear of a general negro insurrection became widespread.

The most serious instance of disorder occurred in the district of Worcester. On the 1st of February 1825 a party of seven slaves, aided by some Hottentots, rose against their masters—named W. N. van der Merwe, J. H. van Rensburg, and J. M. Verlee—murdered them, assaulted and wounded two others, and then plundered the houses. Having armed themselves, they resisted a commando hastily assembled by the fieldcornet Dutoit, but were ultimately compelled to surrender. The slaves and five Hottentots were brought to trial before the high court of justice, when it clearly appeared that they believed they had been kept in servitude by their masters in opposition to the intentions of the government. Two of the Hottentots were acquitted, the others were found guilty. Three were hanged, and their heads were afterwards exposed on stakes, five were scourged and imprisoned for long periods, and two were scourged only.

On the 19th of June 1826 by direction from England an ordinance was issued by the acting governor in council for the improvement of the condition of the slaves. The clauses of the proclamation of March 1823 were reenacted with some enlargements, and two important additions were made to them. The enlargements consisted chiefly in requiring that slaves should be paid for necessary work on the sabbath, and that all should enjoy the special favours conferred by the proclamation upon the baptized only. One of the additions provided for the appointment of a protector in Capetown and assistant protectors in the country districts, whose duties should be to watch carefully over the interests of the slaves and to see that the laws in their favour were strictly carried out. The other addition was that slaves could compel their masters to liberate either themselves, or their children, brothers, sisters, wives, or husbands, at a price to be fixed by valuers. The ordinance was to have effect from the 1st of August 1826.

Much excitement was created throughout the colony by its appearance in the *Gazette*. It was the custom to send copies of important official publications to the burgher senate and to the respective boards of landdrost and heem-

raden, which were convened purposely to hear them read, in order that the members might become acquainted with new laws and make them known to the farmers. On this occasion the burgher senate refused to have the ordinance read, and addressed a remonstrance against it to the acting governor. General Bourke then sent for the members, and lectured them upon their duty, to which they replied with another memorial. Two of them resigned rather than have anything to do with the ordinance, and when at length it was read by the president, only the salaried officers of the board were there to hear it. In the same way the landdrost of Stellenbosch read it to the officers of the court only, as the heemraden declined to attend.

On the 26th of July 1826 a public meeting was held in Capetown, by leave of General Bourke, to prepare a petition to the king in council. The opinion was generally expressed that the relationship between master and slave was already so strained that it would not bear further tension. Every one desired the total extinction of slavery upon reasonable terms, but there was much diversity of view as to the manner in which it could best be effected. A committee was appointed to draw up a memorial that the ordinance might be annulled, but when the members requested leave to lay before General Bourke their plans for improving the condition of the slaves and for the ultimate extinction of slavery altogether, some doubts were thrown upon their power to represent the public. The matter was referred to the council, and the members expressed an opinion that there would be danger of creating hopes in the minds of the slaves which it might not be possible to realise. The committee then separated, without further action.

On the 2nd of October 1826 there was a meeting of the slaveholders of the district of Graaff-Reinet, when a resolution was unanimously adopted that in their opinion after a date to be fixed by government all female children should be free at birth, in order that slavery might gradually cease. Another proposal was carried by a majority, that all male children born after the same date should be free, but a

minority objected, unless the owners were compensated for the boys. Captain Stockenstrom was requested by the meeting to proceed to Capetown for the purpose of laying these resolutions before the government, and to consult with deputies from the other districts.

The Graaff-Reinet resolutions were generally accepted throughout the colony as a reasonable basis for the extinction of slavery, and a law founded upon them would certainly have met with public approval, if vexatious and irritating legislation had not been persevered in.

On the 2nd of February 1830 an order in council was issued to amend and bring into one law the various enactments concerning slaves in the colonies subject to the legislative authority of the king in council, which were Trinidad, Berbice, Demerara, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope, and Mauritius. It was published in Capetown on the 12th of August, with a notification that it would be in force on and after the 26th. In this order the same treatment was required for slaves thinly scattered over South African farms as for those working in gangs on a West Indian sugar plantation. Food, clothing, hours of labour, and many other particulars were minutely entered into. The twenty-sixth clause required that 'a punishment record book' should be kept by each slave proprietor, and that it should be submitted twice in every year to the protector, when the proprietor or manager of the estate should make oath to its accuracy.

There were many provisions in this order which could not be observed in South Africa. In consequence, numerous petitions from slaveholders in all parts of the colony were sent in, praying for the suspension or repeal of such provisions. It was not in the governor's power to comply, but he wrote to Lord Goderich urging a modification of the order in council. After describing the excited feeling 'caused by the promulgation of a law to many of the provisions of which obedience was impracticable, and which, though apparently recognising the right of property in slaves, virtually denied it, by placing in the way of the slaveholders in the colony such obstacles to the management

of their slaves as to render that species of property worse than useless,' he informed the secretary of state that numerous deputations had waited upon him, begging him to suspend the obnoxious clauses. The slaveholders, he said, 'were unanimous in their determination to suffer the penalties of the law rather than comply with its provisions relative to the book directed to be kept for recording punishments.' Even if he possessed the means, he should not feel it right to compel the observance of this order, and if he must do so a larger military force than was then in South Africa would be required.

In Stellenbosch there was something like a riot. On the 11th of April 1831 a few slaveowners went to that village to submit their punishment record books to the assistant protector, whose office was in the public building, now the theological seminary. As soon as their object became known, a number of people assembled, and began to hiss at them and pelt them with dirt. The assistant protector endeavoured to see Mr. Faure, the resident magistrate, whose office was in the same building; but he was refused admittance. The rioters broke the windows of the houses of the assistant protector and another person who was obnoxious to them, and kept control of the village until the expiration of the five days specified by law for the production of the punishment record books.

Mr. Faure did not report the circumstance until the 16th, and when called upon for an explanation of his conduct replied that from the weakness of the constabulary he did not think it right to interfere. The governor thereupon deprived him of office.

Seven of the principal rioters were put upon their trial before the next circuit court at Stellenbosch. They pleaded guilty, and were sentenced to pay fines of 10*l.* each and to furnish security to the amount of 20*l.* to keep the peace.

On the 6th of February 1832 a supplementary order in council was issued, relieving slaveholders, except those living in Capetown and Grahamstown or within twenty miles of those places, from keeping punishment record

books. This order was received in the colony with another of the 2nd of November 1831, and both were published to come in force on the 28th of August.

The order in council of the 2nd of November 1831 limited the hours of slave labour to nine daily, prohibited the employment of slaves between six p.m. and six a.m., gave protectors and assistant protectors judicial and police powers with the right to enter upon estates and into slave dwellings at any time, with other clauses almost equally destructive of the owners' authority.

The excitement was now so great that Sir Lowry Cole considered it necessary to prevent the people assembling to discuss matters. On the 6th of June 1832 he published an ordinance for the prevention and suppression of meetings whereby the peace and good order of the colony might be endangered. It was to be in force for one year only. It was issued as an ordinance of the governor in council, though three members voted against it and only two in its favour. At the same time the governor issued a proclamation, reserving to himself 'the full and entire power lawfully vested in him to remove from the settlement any person whose continuance therein should be deemed by him to be prejudicial to the peace, good order, and security thereof,' and declaring that he would 'not hesitate to give full and immediate effect to the aforesaid power lawfully vested in him, in any case where he should see fit to exercise the same.'

The ordinance was ratified by the imperial authorities, but Lord Goderich instructed the governor to take the most convenient opportunity at an early date to revoke the proclamation, as far at least as respected the removal of British subjects.

When the first ebullition of feeling subsided, the governor gave his consent to a public meeting being held, and on the 17th of September 1832 about two thousand slaveholders came together in Capetown. Mr. Michiel van Breda was elected chairman. The utmost order was observed throughout the proceedings, though speeches were made and resolutions unanimously carried to the effect that many of the

clauses of the order in council were not only unjust in principle but inapplicable to the condition of the colony, and could not be carried out. The meeting resolved that if an elective legislative assembly were granted to the Cape, so that laws adapted to the country could be made, they would willingly coöperate not only in the improvement of the condition of the slaves, but in the abolition of slavery itself.

The whole of the assembled slaveholders then marched from the commercial exchange up Grave-street, and halted in the open space in front of government house. Mr. Michiel van Breda and Advocate Henry Cloete were deputed to make known their resolutions and to confer with Sir Lowry Cole, who had previously consented to receive them. These gentlemen informed the governor that the slaveholders were prepared to suffer the penalties of the law, but they could not obey it, and they entreated that the operation of the order in council, which they regarded as iniquitous, might be suspended. The governor answered that it was beyond his power to comply with their wishes.

A document was then drawn up and generally signed, in which the slaveholders declared that they could not obey the obnoxious provisions of the order in council, and protested against the disastrous consequences that must arise from an attempt to enforce them.

Meantime fruitless efforts were being made in the colony to devise some medium between absolute ruin on the one hand and the state of affairs caused by the irritating regulations on the other. It was believed that the imperial government intended to lay a tax upon the slaves, with the object of compelling proprietors to emancipate them; but the belief is now known to have rested only on apprehension and rumour. On the 27th of May 1831 Lord Goderich directed Sir Lowry Cole to impose a tax—but only of five shillings—upon all slaves between ten and sixty years of age; and even this order was cancelled upon a representation by the governor that it would be very imprudent to enforce it.

The Graaff-Reinet proposals as accepted generally in the

other districts—all female children after date of arrangement to be born free, on condition that no new legislation other than provisions for the severe punishment of actual ill-treatment should be imposed upon the slaveholders—met with no response in England. Sudden emancipation was regarded as impossible, even if there had been no dread of turning the negroes without restraint upon society. Many people had no other property, and throughout the colony the majority of the slaves were mortgaged. All who were sick, aged, and helpless had a legal claim upon their owners for maintenance, and could not be cast away.

It was out of the power of most colonists to act in the matter as the government had done. The last returns from the official in charge of the slaves belonging to the public service show that there were then only seventy-seven males and forty-five females. In 1827, by direction of the secretary of state, General Bourke apprenticed the children. The able-bodied were then set free, and the infirm were placed in a hospital to be supported while they lived.

Emancipation, however, had become more frequent than formerly, for to the instances due to benevolent feelings were now added those arising from a desire to be free of vexatious legislation. In Capetown alone they rose to about one hundred and twenty yearly.

On the 27th of June 1828 an association was formed in Capetown termed the Cape of Good Hope society for aiding deserving slaves and slave children to purchase their freedom. It collected subscriptions, and turned its attention chiefly to the purchase of young girls, whom it was authorised by an ordinance of the 3rd of February 1830 to apprentice to suitable persons. It hoped to receive pecuniary aid from the British treasury and from benevolent persons in England, but was disappointed in both, though on the 22nd of May 1831 Lord Goderich authorised half of the fines received under the various orders in council to be paid to its treasurer. With means limited almost entirely to colonial subscriptions, this society was able to effect the emancipation of about twenty-five girls yearly.

The torture inflicted upon the slaveholders was so acute that it was felt as a relief when an emancipation act was finally passed by the imperial parliament. On the 12th of June 1833 resolutions were adopted by both houses that immediate measures should be taken for the abolition of slavery, upon which the government brought in a bill, that rapidly passed through the requisite stages, and on the 28th of August received the signature of the king.

It provided that after a certain date—in the Cape Colony the 1st of December 1834—slavery was absolutely to cease. All slaves over six years of age were then to become apprentices to their former masters, either for four or six years. but if for six years they were not to be required to work more than forty-five hours a week. Special magistrates were to be appointed, who were to have exclusive jurisdiction in cases between the apprentices and their employers, except in matters under control of the supreme and circuit courts. The sum of twenty million pounds sterling was voted to compensate the owners in the nineteen slave colonies of Great Britain, and the share of each colony was to be determined by the value of its slaves, based upon the average prices during the eight years preceding the 31st of December 1830.

There was a general impression that the money voted by the imperial parliament would suffice to meet the whole, or nearly the whole value of the slaves, and this impression was confirmed by the exulting declaration of the philanthropic party everywhere that Great Britain had not confiscated property, but had purchased the freedom of those who were in bondage. The number and value of the negroes in the other eighteen colonies was entirely unknown, still there was very little uneasiness felt on this point. Most people supposed that a vagrant act would be passed before the day of final emancipation, and in that belief they were disposed to accept the new condition of things without demur or heartburning.

Colonel Wade was therefore able to report very favourably upon the reception which the emancipation act met

with. He also added his testimony to that of his predecessors in office upon the feeling with which the system was regarded by the colonists. In a despatch to the secretary of state, dated 6th of December 1833, he affirmed that 'the inhabitants in general could not with justice be accused of brutal or inhuman treatment of their slaves, that there was not then and never had been at the Cape an attachment to slavery, that the existence of it had been a matter of necessity not of choice, and that until the last few years there had been no disinclination on the part of the colonists to emancipation on fair and equitable principles.' 'On the contrary,' he wrote, 'more than one plan for the gradual extinction of slavery had emanated from the proprietors themselves.'

On the 26th of March 1834 the governor appointed Messrs. P. M. Brink, E. Christian, W. Gadney, D. J. Kuys, H. A. Sandenberg, and J. J. L. Smuts 'assistant commissioners of compensation,' and the appraisement of the slaves commenced. They were divided into a number of classes, and the average value of an individual of each class was ascertained from a comparison of all the sales that could be ascertained to have taken place during the period defined in the emancipation act. A few objections were made to this manner of appraisement by persons who thought it unfair that their slaves should be put on an equality with those disposed of at forced sales, but in general the plan was regarded as the safest that could be adopted.

On the 30th of November 1834 there were in the colony thirty-nine thousand and twenty-one slaves, of whom twenty-one thousand six hundred and thirteen were males and seventeen thousand four hundred and eight were females. Five thousand seven hundred and thirty-one were under six years of age. Of the whole number, three thousand two hundred and seventy-six were aged, infirm, or otherwise unfit for work, and were regarded as having no pecuniary value. A few weeks later, when the appraisement rolls were finally completed, it was ascertained that to meet the value of the remaining thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-five 3,041,290*l.* 6*s.* would be required.

On the appointed day—1st of December 1834—slavery ceased to exist in the Cape Colony. In most of the churches throughout the country thanksgiving services were held in the morning, and in the towns and villages the afternoon was generally devoted to festivity. The negroes themselves, whose idea of freedom was a state of idleness, were mostly unable to realise the change that had taken place in their condition, and were by no means enthusiastic upon becoming apprentices; but the European philanthropic party was exceedingly jubilant.

An ordinance regulating the details of the proceedings under the emancipation act was before the legislative council, and though not published until the 5th of January 1835, it was acted upon as if already law. All the late slaves were declared to be non-predial, and those over six years of age to be apprentices to their former owners for four years. The hours during which they were required to labour were fixed on a sliding scale according to the seasons, so that in the year they should average ten and one-sixth daily, sacred and holidays excepted.

Under the emancipation act special magistrates were to be appointed for the protection of the apprentices, and eight half-pay officers had already arrived from England to fill some of these situations. Six more were selected by the governor, and for this purpose only the colony was divided into fourteen districts, to each of which a special magistrate was assigned. His sole duty was to enforce the provisions of the emancipation act and the ordinance regulating details.

The necessity for such extreme precaution appears doubtful, and the colonists regarded it as additional evidence of England's partiality to coloured people. In 1833 a small stream of immigration had commenced to set into the colony, in the form of destitute children sent from London by an association termed the society for suppressing juvenile vagrancy, later the children's friend society. About one hundred boys and girls were being sent out yearly, and were on arrival apprenticed to respectable people. It was an excellent scheme, and all parties were benefited by it, for

the great majority of the children became useful and thriving men and women. But what appeared strange to the old colonists was that no protectors were appointed by the imperial government for these children of European blood, while so many were employed to guard the interests of the blacks.

The year 1835 was well advanced when a packet arrived from England with intelligence that the returns for all the slave colonies were complete, and that of the twenty millions sterling the share awarded to the Cape by the commissioners under the emancipation act was 1,247,401*l.* 0*s.* 7½*d.* The intelligence created a panic greater than any ever known before in South Africa. A very large proportion of the late slaves were mortgaged to the various institutions for lending money, and the mortgage bonds invariably contained a clause covering all other property. At once there was a demand for the redemption of the bonds, and goods and effects of all kinds had to be sold at enormous losses. In many instances slaves had been the sole property of families, or widows, or minors, or aged people, and the late owners were at once reduced to indigence.

But the whole calamity was not even yet known. Succeeding mails brought information that the imperial government would not send the money to South Africa, but that each claim would have to be proved before commissioners in London, when the amount apportioned would be paid in three and a half per cent stock. All the expenses connected with carrying out the emancipation act in each colony were first to be deducted from the amount awarded to that colony, so that it would not be possible to pay any claims for some time. And each set of documents was to be covered with a stamp of thirty shillings.

This decision of the imperial authorities brought into the country a swarm of petty agents, who purchased claims from the distressed and panic-stricken people at perhaps half their real value, so that a colonist, instead of receiving about one-third of the appraised value of his slaves, often received only one-fifth or one-sixth.

It is not easy to bring home to the mind the widespread misery that was occasioned by the confiscation of two millions' worth of property in a small and poor community like that of the Cape in 1835. There were to be seen families reduced from affluence to want, widows and orphans made destitute, poverty and anxiety brought into hundreds of homes. Men and women are yet living who have a keen remembrance of privations endured during childhood, of parents descending to the grave in penury, of relatives and friends once wealthy suddenly reduced to toil for their bread, all through the confiscation of their slaves.

No one disputes now that the emancipation was beneficial to the character of the European race in South Africa. Power such as that of a slaveholder over a slave has an evil effect upon the mind of men, the contact of children with slaves in the same house was in many respects objectionable. Nor does anyone attempt to deny that the Asiatics, mulattos, and slaves of lighter blood have shown by their conduct that they were deserving of freedom. The property in houses that they own, without going further, would suffice to show that they were worthy of liberty.

But some of the closest observers have doubts whether the change was really beneficial to the pure blacks. A comparison between the negro slave of 1834 and his grandchildren of 1890 shows much in favour of the former. As a rule he was better fed, better clothed, better housed, more cleanly in his person, more respectable in his conduct and habits. In distress and sickness his grandchildren may have the advantage of being somewhat more carefully provided for in hospitals, but it is not owing to their own exertions. His descendants are educated in schools, at little or no expense to themselves; but it is very rarely that one turns such education to account. They remain as rough labourers, unwilling to toil for anything beyond a mere subsistence, careless about a provision for old age or a day of need. Numerous associations have sought to draw them into the Christian fold, and with a fair measure of success, though the rivalry between the various societies has caused

them to regard joining a church as if it were conferring patronage upon the missionary. But they could have been converted as readily under the old system.

Taking all this into consideration, however, African slavery cannot be justified. Every human being, white or black, has a right to improve his condition if he can, and slavery debarred the negro from this right. The colonists recognised this principle, and had no wish to perpetuate the system. What they desired was that it should gradually be brought to an end, and in a manner that would not bring ruin upon themselves. The assertion of the philanthropists in England that they were slaveholders by nature and were ready to thwart to the utmost of their power the noble and benevolent designs of Great Britain was resented by them as a bitter calumny, which added insult to the cruel wrong that had been inflicted upon them.

When intelligence of the emancipation act was first brought to South Africa, few colonists supposed that it would be carried into effect without the enactment of a law against vagrancy. Already, though there was a great demand for labourers which could not be met, the colony was swarming with able-bodied people in a state of destitution, who were a nuisance to owners of property. Betschuana refugees, Kosas, and Hottentots released from restraint by the fiftieth ordinance were wandering about, plundering the farmers everywhere. Sir Lowry Cole recognised the need of an ordinance to check vagrancy, but foresaw so many difficulties in the way of passing one that he left the task for his successor. Lieutenant-Colonel Wade was about to bring the subject before the council of advice when Sir Benjamin D'Urban arrived. He then laid the matter before the new governor, with the result that on the 7th of May 1834 a draft ordinance was introduced and read for the first time in the legislative council. It gave to commandants, fieldcornets, and provisional fieldcornets power to apprehend persons suspected of having no honest means of subsistence, or who could not give an account of themselves, and to bring them before a magistrate or justice of the peace. After

examination, if the charge was proved, the magistrate or justice of the peace could compel such persons to make roads or perform other public work for their maintenance until they should find security for good behaviour, or enter service, or show a reasonable inclination to accept employment.

The draft ordinance was no sooner published in the *Gazette* than Dr. Philip declared himself opposed to it. He sent a memorial to the council against it, and in the *Commercial Advertiser* announced his intention to appeal to the English nation and parliament if it were passed. The second reading was therefore postponed until his memorial could be referred to the civil commissioners to report upon. With a single exception—Mr. Van der Riet, of Uitenhage—the civil commissioners emphatically denied Dr. Philip's statements as to the condition of the coloured people, and especially as to the decrease of crime by Hottentots after the publication of the fiftieth ordinance; they declared their conviction that a vagrant act was necessary for the welfare of the coloured people themselves, inasmuch as those who were inclined to be industrious were impoverished by idle acquaintances; and they asserted their belief that such an act was urgently required for the protection of the farmers.

The governor now saw that the ordinance could neither be withdrawn nor passed without great difficulty. On the 31st of July it was read a second time, and the council then went into committee, when the governor proposed to obtain information from the judges regarding the existing laws upon vagrancy. This was agreed to, and the discussion was postponed.

The judges sent in an opinion that vagrancy was made a crime by various placats issued in Holland between the years 1531 and 1649, which after the occupation of the colony became law here; and that certain clauses of the Dutch ordinance for the administration of the country districts were still in force, except where repealed by later enactments. But they were of opinion that 'no law for the suppression of vagrancy could be carried into effectual operation in respect of Hottentots or other free persons of

colour lawfully residing in this colony, so long as the second section of the ordinance number fifty stood unrepealed, in so far as it enacted that no Hottentot or other free person of colour lawfully residing in this colony should be subject to any hindrance, molestation, or imprisonment of any kind whatsoever, under the pretence that such person had been guilty of vagrancy, unless after trial in due course of law.'

In other words, there were laws, long regarded as obsolete, which could be revived and put in force against European vagrants, but not against Hottentots and other free persons of colour. The chief justice was 'further of opinion that only the supreme and circuit courts could take cognisance of charges of vagrancy. He afterwards changed his views with regard to the second clause of the fiftieth ordinance, but the other judges adhered to theirs, so that the matter was involved in doubt.

Meantime great activity was displayed by Dr. Philip and several of the missionaries of the London society, who considered the laws against theft and trespass ample to meet the case. Petitions against the ordinance were drawn up and signed by every Hottentot under their influence, young and old. The halfbreeds at the Kat river, however, who possessed some property, refused to give their names, and sent in a memorial in favour of the ordinance. The coloured people in general became alarmed, and repaired in large numbers to the stations as to places of protection. This movement was then described as the effect of two or three fieldcornets declaring that the Hottentots would soon have the privileges of the fiftieth ordinance withdrawn from them. By Dr. Philip's instructions, the 18th of August was observed at all the stations as a day of humiliation and prayer to Almighty God that it might please Him to avert the impending evil of a vagrant law.

The opinion of the judges was laid before the council, when it was resolved to request them to draft any amendments that in their view would make the ordinance more workable. They, however, declined such responsibility in their official character, but Mr. Justice Menzies drew up

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some amendments unofficially. On the 23rd of August these were brought forward by Lieutenant-Colonel Wade, and during several successive days were discussed and adopted.

Another petition was now presented by Dr. Philip. It was of great length, but its substance may be gathered from a few of its sentences. 'In the records of this colony, whether Dutch or English,' the memorialist had 'seen nothing in the shape of a law so appalling to humanity and religion.' 'The object of the vagrant law was to secure a sufficiency of labourers to the masters on their own terms.' 'Any law in this colony that would attempt to compel the wilfully idle to labour would be a law which would give back to the masters the whole of the slave population under a law more cruel and dreadful in its operation than the old slavery law of the colony, because the masters having no interest in their lives beyond their immediate services, they would have no checks upon their avarice.'

On the 8th of September the ordinance was read a third time by the vote of a majority of the council, the governor, the acting secretary to government, the attorney-general, and Mr. Ebdon forming the minority. The governor gave as his reasons for opposing it that several clauses would be regarded in England with apprehension and alarm, and would prejudice the colony in the opinion of the English government and nation. He had come to the conclusion that the existing laws were sufficient for holding a proper check upon vagrancy. As yet, it must be remembered, he had not been beyond the Cape peninsula, and had to form an opinion from the conflicting statements of the officials and the missionaries of the London society, with the latter of whom he was still in strong sympathy.

After the ordinance was passed by the council, the governor declined to sign it, but transmitted it to the secretary of state to be laid before the king. In England it was disallowed.

There were other causes for uneasiness in the colony in 1834. The wine trade—the most important industry in the country—was in a state of rapid decline, and there was no

prospect of its recovery. There was also the depression that is experienced everywhere when revenue falls short of expenditure, when taxation is severely felt, when debt is increasing, and when even the most necessary public works cannot be undertaken.

Still, comparing the condition of the colony in 1834 with its condition in 1819, signs of advancement were not wanting. The principal villages were now connected by regular weekly posts, the mails being conveyed in spring-carts driven from station to station at a pace of six or seven miles an hour day and night. By these conveyances passengers could travel much more easily than in former times.

Recent improvements in buildings and in stock were to be seen everywhere, but especially in the district of Albany, which was dotted over with comfortable farmhouses. The English settlers had overcome their early difficulties, and believed that fair prospects were before them. They were living on the most friendly terms with their neighbours of Dutch origin, and intermarriages were becoming not uncommon.

Grahamstown contained six hundred houses and three thousand seven hundred inhabitants exclusive of soldiers. It had four churches—belonging to the English episcopal, Wesleyan, Independent, and Baptist congregations,—good schools, a commercial hall, a savings bank, a benefit club, a reading room, and a newspaper.

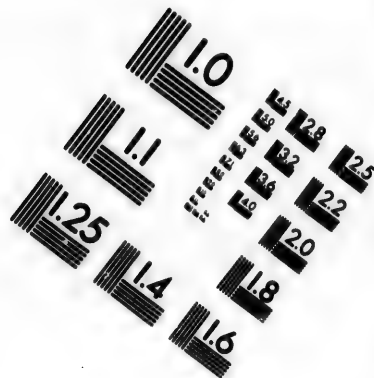
In other parts of the district there were six Wesleyan churches, an English episcopal church at Bathurst, eight or nine cornmills, and several manufactories of waggons, leather, and tiles.

Port Elizabeth contained twelve hundred residents. The Independents had a place of worship there, and on the 12th of January 1834 St. Mary's church was opened for the use of the English episcopalians. In one respect, however, the town had gone backward, as in February 1832, owing to the necessity for retrenchment, an ordinance was issued substituting for the resident magistrate a special justice of the peace.

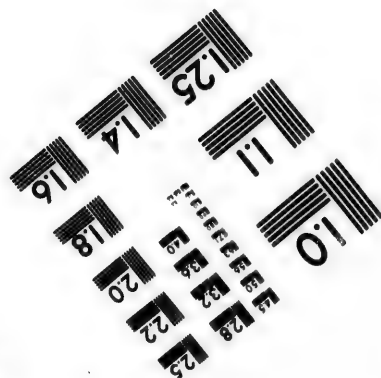
A large section of the eastern people was agitating for separation from the western districts. They were of opinion that there should be a strong government near the Kaffir border, as from that quarter danger was always threatening. At the beginning of 1834 they sent Mr. Thomas Philipps as a delegate to England with petitions to that effect to both houses of parliament. At that time there was not even a commissioner-general for the eastern province. Captain Stockenström, who found that he possessed no real authority and who was intensely jealous of Colonel Somerset, in March 1833 applied for six months' leave of absence, and went to Europe. Captain Campbell, civil commissioner of Albany and Somerset, was directed to act as commissioner-general; but Mr. Stanley, secretary of state for the colonies, abolished the office altogether from the 1st of January 1834, and issued instructions that Captain Stockenström should retire with a pension of 300*l.* a year.

There had been a great expansion of mission work throughout the colony. The old associations continued their activity, and others had entered the field. The Rhenish society was founded in 1828, and during the next year three missionaries were sent to this country. They established themselves first at Stellenbosch, but soon afterwards, being reinforced, they founded stations in other parts of the colony and beyond the northern border. The Berlin society was founded in 1824. In 1834 four of its missionaries arrived in South Africa, who were speedily followed by others. The first station occupied was Beaufort West, but they soon spread themselves among the Koranas, Betshuana, and Kosas in and beyond the colony.





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APPENDIX

BOOKS REFERRING TO THE PERIOD EMBRACED IN THIS VOLUME :

Allardyce, Alexander : *Memoir of the honourable George Keith Elphinstone, K.B., Viscount Keith, Admiral of the Red.* An octavo volume of four hundred and thirty-two pages, published at London in 1882. In this book one can learn particulars of the life of Admiral Elphinstone. The two chapters devoted to that portion of his career which was connected with the Cape Colony were written without reference to the Dutch records, but are fairly correct.

Barrow, John : *Travels into the interior of Southern Africa, in which are described, the character and the condition of the Dutch colonists of the Cape of Good Hope and of the several tribes of natives beyond its limits, &c., &c., &c.* Two quarto volumes, London (second edition), 1806. As far as geographical, botanical, and zoological information, statistics, and descriptions of institutions are concerned, this work is thoroughly reliable, and it is written in a remarkably clear and easy style. But the descriptions of the colonists are so deeply tinged by prejudice as to have deservedly drawn upon the author very severe criticism from later writers, especially from foreigners. Some cruelties that he states he witnessed, as for instance the frightful gashing of an ox by a brutalised farmer, and the rapid recovery of the animal, have been shown to be impossibilities. This portion of the work should be read with due allowance for the author's position and the passions developed by the war with France. [See chapter 28 of this volume].

Barrow, John : *Some account of the public life and a selection from the unpublished writings of the earl of Macartney.* Two quarto volumes, London, 1807. This is a work of considerable value to a student of South African history, but it cannot be regarded as a perfectly impartial narrative. From it can be learned what offices were held by Lord Macartney in other countries, and much besides

concerning him ; but the records of his administration are better sources from which to judge of his government of the Cape Colony.

Barrow, John : *A voyage to Cochin China in the years 1792 and 1793 ; to which is annexed an account of a journey made in the years 1801 and 1802 to the residence of the chief of the Booshuana nation, being the remotest point in the interior of Southern Africa to which Europeans have hitherto penetrated.* A quarto volume of four hundred and forty-seven pages, published at London in 1806. The account of the journey from Capetown to Lithako occupies seventy-five pages, and is condensed from the journal kept by Mr. Daniell, secretary to Messrs. Truter and Somerville, who were sent by General Dundas on a mission to the Betschuana. This portion of the volume is exceedingly interesting, and is of considerable value to a student of South African history, though many observations in it are strongly tinged with Barrow's prejudices. It is accompanied by a map, on which the existence of goldfields in their correct position is marked.

An autobiographical memoir of Sir John Barrow, bart., late of the admiralty ; including reflections, observations, and reminiscences at home and abroad, from early life to advanced age. An octavo volume of five hundred and fifteen pages, published at London in 1847. A very interesting work, and one which contains several items of information on South Africa not to be found in any other printed book.

Lindsay, Lord : *Lives of the Lindsays, or a memoir of the houses of Crawford and Balcarres.* Three octavo volumes. London, 1849. One hundred and five pages in the third volume are filled with letters entitled *extracts from the journal of a residence at the Cape of Good Hope and of a short tour into the interior*, by Lady Anne Barnard. These letters are written in a very charming manner, and display a good deal of insight into the character of the colonists. The writer was the wife of Mr. Andrew Barnard, who was secretary to government from 1797 to 1803, and again in 1807.

Percival, Captain Robert : *An account of the Cape of Good Hope, containing an historical view of its original settlement by the Dutch, its capture by the British in 1795, and the different policy pursued there by the Dutch and English governments. Also a sketch of its geography, productions, the manners and customs of the inhabitants, &c., &c.* A quarto volume of three hundred and thirty-nine pages, published at London in 1804. This book is one of the most unreliable that has ever been issued from the press, and is of no value whatever for any purpose but waste paper.

Gleanings in Africa, exhibiting a faithful and correct view of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope and surrounding country. With a full and comprehensive account of the system of agriculture adopted by the colonists, &c., &c., &c. An octavo volume of three hundred and twenty pages, published at London in 1806. The author's name is not given; but the work is described as a series of letters from an English officer during the period in which the colony was under the protection of the British government. It is so full of errors as to be of no value whatever.

Semple, Robert: *Walks and sketches at the Cape of Good Hope; to which is subjoined a journey from Capetown to Plettenberg's Bay.* A crown octavo volume of one hundred and ninety-eight pages, of which the second edition was published at London in 1805. This work is fairly interesting, but for historical purposes it is of very little value.

Stout, Captain Benjamin: *Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, an accurate and truly interesting description of those delightful regions situated five hundred miles north of the Cape, &c., &c.* A crown octavo volume of one hundred and forty-four pages, published at London in 1820. Captain Stout was in command of the American ship *Hercules*, which on her return voyage from India was so badly damaged in a great gale that to save the lives of the crew she was run ashore on the coast between the mouths of the Keiskama and Beka rivers on the 16th of June 1796. With his crew of sixty men Captain Stout travelled overland to Capetown. This book is of no value whatever, being so full of incorrect statements that it might as well have been written by one who never saw the country.

Valentia, George, Viscount: *Voyages and travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt in the years 1802 to 1806.* Three volumes octavo and a quarto volume of plates and maps, published at London from 1809 to 1820. The author called at the Cape on his way to the east, and made a hasty tour as far as Twenty-four Rivers. Twelve pages of the first volume are devoted to this country, but they contain no information of importance. In the volume of plates there is a good representation of the waterfall at French Hoek.

Tombe, Charles François: *Voyage aux Indes Orientales pendant les années 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, et 1806, contenant la description du cap de Bonne Espérance, des îles de France, Bonaparte, Java, Banca, et de la ville de Batavia.* Two octavo volumes and a large quarto volume of maps and plates, published at Paris in 1810. The

author of this work was a French officer, who found himself idle after the peace of Amiens, and who took passage to India in hope of improving his fortune by obtaining employment there. He was at the Cape at the close of the year 1802, and witnessed the consternation produced by the order from England to delay the cession of the colony. The chapter in his work devoted to South African affairs contains nothing new or specially interesting.

Lichtenstein, Dr. Henry: *Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803 to 1806*. This work, originally written in German, was translated into English and published in two quarto volumes in London in 1812. Its author came to South Africa as tutor to the eldest son of General Janssens, and in 1804 was appointed surgeon-major of the Hottentot regiment. He accompanied the commissioner-general De Mist on an extensive tour, was one of a party sent to visit the Batlapin country, and made some other journeys into the interior of the colony. His work, while much below that of Barrow in statistical information, is one of the very best descriptions of the country and its people—white and black—ever published, having been written without prejudice of any kind. It is not, however, entirely free from historical errors, which could have been corrected by referring to the records of the English administration from 1795 to 1803.

Alberti, Lodewyk: *De Kaffers aan de zuidkust van Afrika, natuur- en geschiedkundig beschreven*. An octavo volume of two hundred and sixty pages, published at Amsterdam in 1810. The author of this book was a man of ability, who for nearly three years commanded the garrison of Fort Frederick at Algoa Bay, and during the greater portion of that time was also acting landdrost of Uitenhage, in which capacity he had frequent intercourse with the Kosa clans in the Zuurveld. The work is a reliable description of the Kaffirs, and contains some historical information of value.

von Bouchenroeder, B. F.: *Beknopt bericht nopens de volkplanting de Kaap de Goede Hoop*. An octavo volume of one hundred and sixty-three pages, published at Amsterdam in 1806. A work of little value, as it is filled with wild speculations and controversial matter.

von Bouchenroeder, B. F.: *Reize in de Binnenlanden van Zuid Afrika, gedaan in den jare 1803*. An octavo volume of two hundred and forty-three pages, published at Amsterdam in 1806. This is a work of some interest, and is of value for historical purposes, though it contains a great deal of purely speculative matter.

Grand, George Francis: *Narrative of the life of a gentleman*

long resident in India. A quarto volume of one hundred and eight pages, published at Capetown in 1814. This book contains a little information concerning events in the Cape Colony, but too trifling to make it of much value except as a curiosity.

The life of General the right honourable Sir David Baird. Two octavo volumes, London, 1832. The author's name is not given. There are copies of some important official documents in this work, and the remaining portion is useful as giving particulars concerning the career of Sir David Baird.

Keith, Sir George Mouat, Commander R.N. : *A voyage to South America and the Cape of Good Hope in his Majesty's brig Protector.* A quarto volume of one hundred and nineteen pages, published at London in 1819. The author's observations upon this country are of no great value, but in an appendix a few official documents relative to the conquest of the colony in 1806 are to be found.

Halloran, Laurence, D.D. : *Proceedings, including original correspondence, official documents, exhibits, &c., &c., duly attested and authenticated as correct extracts from the records of the court of justice at the Cape of Good Hope, in a criminal process for a libel, instituted at the suit of Lieut.-Gen. the hon. H. G. Grey, and by order of the right hon. the earl of Caledon.* An octavo volume of seven hundred and eleven pages, published at London in 1811.

Halloran, Laurence, D.D. : *Newgate, or desultory sketches in a prison ; a poem and other original fugitive pieces, with notes and an appendix ; by Laurence Halloran, D.D., at present a prisoner in His Majesty's gaol of Newgate, under sentence of transportation for seven years on a charge of having defrauded the post-office revenue of the sum of tenpence by counterfeiting a frank.* A small quarto volume of seventy-four pages, published at London in 1818. The circumstances under which this book was written must be unique, if the real merit of the poetry, the author's previous career, and his utter insensibility to the heinousness of the crime of which he had been guilty, be taken into consideration.

Campbell, John, minister of Kingsland chapel : *Travels in South Africa, undertaken at the request of the missionary society.* An octavo volume of five hundred and eighty-two pages, published at London in 1815. This book contains some information on general subjects, as well as a complete account of the missions of the London society. But the author's simplicity and credulity were so great that little reliance can be placed upon anything that he describes which did not come under his own eyes. It is difficult to make out his Dutch, Korana, and Setshuana proper names, as his ear was not

good at catching sounds. There is a kindly tone throughout the book, however, which compensates for many defects.

Campbell, Rev. John : *Travels in South Africa, undertaken at the request of the London missionary society ; being a narrative of a second journey in the interior of that country.* Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1822. On this occasion Mr. Campbell travelled in the interior as far as the country occupied by the Bahurutsi tribe—the present Mosega,—and to those who are able to correct his spelling of Setshuana names his narrative is therefore exceedingly interesting.

Burchell, William J. : *Travels in the interior of Southern Africa.* Two large and splendidly illustrated quarto volumes, published at London in 1822 and 1824. This is one of the most trustworthy and valuable books ever issued upon South Africa. Its author was a man of talent, an easy writer, and scrupulously exact in his descriptions. He travelled northward nearly to the Molopo river in Betshuanaland, and resided some months at Griquatown and Lithako. From Griquatown he made his way through Bushmanland to Graaff-Reinet and back again. Subsequently he travelled to the Fish river, and then through the whole length of the Cape Colony ; but his printed work ends with his leaving Lithako on the 3rd of August 1812. Many of the numerous illustrations which adorn these volumes are beautifully coloured, and all have the accuracy of photographs. In statistical matter Burchell's book cannot be classed with that of Barrow, but in everything else it is vastly superior. It is the production of a conscientious man, a scholar, and a philosopher, who could judge of what was good and what was evil in people apart from their colour or nationality. The high price—nine guineas—unfortunately prevented a large circulation.

Fisher, Richard Barnard : *The importance of the Cape of Good Hope as a colony to Great Britain, independently of the advantages it possesses as a military and naval station and the key to our territorial possessions in India.* An octavo volume of one hundred and ninety pages, the third edition of which was published at London in 1816. No greater nonsense was ever inflicted upon a reader.

Hooker, William Jackson, LL.D., &c. : *Botanical Miscellany.* Three octavo volumes published at London in 1830 to 1833. The second and third volumes contain a paper in three parts contributed by the reverend Colin Smith, entitled a *biographical notice of Captain Dugald Carmichael.* Eighty-one pages of this biography are devoted to Captain Carmichael's residence at the Cape of Good

Hope from his arrival with General Baird in 1806 to the removal of his regiment to Mauritius in 1810, and when he was again quartered here in 1814 to 1816. There is some really useful information upon South Africa in this paper. There is also an account of the expedition to Tristan da Cunha, which Captain Carmichael accompanied.

Latrobe, Rev. C. I. : *Journal of a visit to South Africa in 1815 and 1816, with some account of the missionary settlements of the united brethren near the Cape of Good Hope.* A quarto volume of four hundred and six pages, with map and coloured plates, published at London in 1818. There is also an octavo edition without the plates. Mr. Latrobe's object in visiting the colony was to inspect the mission stations of Genadendal and Mamre, and to select a suitable site for a new settlement. With this object he travelled through the country to the Fish river. His work is interesting and is written in a spirit of fairness to the government, the colonists, and the coloured people ; but it does not contain much historical or general information concerning the country, if the accounts of the brethren's mission stations be excepted.

Robertson, G. A. : *Notes on Africa, particularly those parts which are situated between Cape Verd and the river Congo.* An octavo volume, published at London in 1819. An appendix of ninety-two pages in this book contains what is termed a *compendious account of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, its productions and resources, together with a variety of important information very necessary to be known by persons about to emigrate to that country.* It was not written by Mr. Robertson, and the author's name is not given. It is so full of errors as to be valueless.

An account of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, with a view to the information of emigrants ; and an appendix containing the offers of government to persons disposed to settle there. An octavo volume of one hundred and seventy-two pages, published at London in 1819. This book was compiled from the works of various travellers, and contains many errors. The appendix is the only portion that is of value.

Notes on the Cape of Good Hope, made during an excursion in that colony in the year 1820. An octavo volume of two hundred and seven pages, published at London in 1821. The author's name is not given. Except Captain Moreby's report of the survey of the south-eastern coast, which is copied from the *Gazette*, no part of this book is of any particular value, and many remarks upon the people are grossly inaccurate.

Bird, Wilberforce : *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*. A handbook of three hundred and seventy-seven octavo pages, published at London in 1823. The author did not affix his name to the title page, but it was no secret that the work was prepared by Mr. W. Bird, controller of customs at Capetown. The information given is of the kind usual in handbooks, and is in general agreement with the returns made for the imperial government.

Theunissen, J. B. N. : *Aanteekeningen eener reis door de binnenlanden van Zuid Afrika, van Port Elizabeth naar de Kaapstad, gedaan in 1823*. An octavo volume of one hundred and thirty-four pages and a large chart, published at Oostende in 1824. Captain Theunissen, a military officer in the service of the Netherlands, was wrecked on the coast a few miles west of Algoa Bay during the night of the 29th of March 1823. Of one hundred and eighty souls on board the ship, one hundred and seventy-two got safely to land, and eight perished. The crew and passengers were sent by sea from Port Elizabeth to Capetown, except Captain Theunissen, who preferred to travel overland to see the country. He had once before resided in Capetown for a few weeks. His little volume is pleasantly written, and gives a very fair picture of the people and the portion of the colony that he saw ; but it contains no other information.

Allereerste beginselen der geschiedenis van Kaap de Goede Hoop. A catechism of ninety-eight pages, printed by J. Suasso de Lima at Capetown in 1825. Having been prepared to suit the views of Lord Charles Somerset, it is somewhat partial, and is of more value now as a curiosity than as containing information.

Grant, Lieutenant P. Warden, of the Bengal revenue survey department : *Considerations on the state of the colonial currency and foreign exchanges at the Cape of Good Hope, comprehending also some statements relative to the population, agriculture, commerce, and statistics of the colony*. An octavo volume of two hundred pages, published at Capetown in 1825. This book contains some valuable statistics, but the figures do not always agree with those in the returns sent by the government to England. For the rest, it is taken up with matter of little interest now.

Burnett, Bishop : *A reply to the report of the commissioners of inquiry at the Cape of Good Hope, upon the complaints addressed to the colonial government and to the earl Bathurst by Mr. Bishop Burnett*. An octavo volume of three hundred and thirteen pages, published at London in 1826.

Thompson, George : *Travels and adventures in Southern Africa,*

comprising a view of the present state of the Cape Colony, with observations on the progress and prospects of the British immigrants. A quarto volume of four hundred and ninety-three pages, illustrated, published at London in 1827. This book is one of the best that has ever been written upon South Africa. The author had resided eight years in the country. His powers of observation were keen, his mind was free from prejudice, and his style of writing was clear.

Scenes and occurrences in Albany and Cafferland, South Africa. An octavo volume of two hundred and fourteen pages, published at London in 1827. The author's name is not given. This book is pleasantly written, but there is nothing in it of any particular value.

Philip, Rev. John, D.D. : *Researches in South Africa, illustrating the civil, moral, and religious condition of the native tribes, including journals of the author's travels in the interior, &c., &c.* Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1828. The object of this work was to impress its readers with the belief that the Dutch farmers cruelly oppressed the natives of South Africa, and that the English colonial government of the time did the same, only to a much greater extent. The description of the Bushmen—whom the writer constantly confused with Hottentots—is that of a race capable of rapid improvement and high civilisation. The Betshuana refugees are represented as having been driven into the colony by the Bergenaars, and the government is severely blamed for this event, so little did Dr. Philip really know of the matter. Upon the appearance of the work, the accuracy of its statements was generally denied by both English and Dutch in South Africa, but in England it was well received by a large section of the people. For historical purposes, its only value is the exposition of the views of its author with regard to the colonists and the coloured races. Time has passed a decisive judgment against the correctness of those views, for in later years Dr. Philip possessed power to cause his theories to be put into practice, with the result that the country was involved in confusion and difficulties, from some of which it is not even yet free. See the last two chapters of this volume.

Boniface, Ch. Et. : *Relation du naufrage du navire français l'Eole sur la côte de la Caffrerie.* An octavo volume of one hundred and twenty-four pages, published at Capetown in 1829. The *Eole* left Bourbon for France in March 1829, and at four o'clock in the morning of the 12th of April during a violent storm struck on the coast between the mouths of the Kei and Bashee rivers. In a few hours she went to pieces, when twelve out of twenty souls on board

perished. The book is an interesting account of the adventures of the eight survivors until they reached Capetown, but it contains nothing besides of any great importance.

Rose, Cowper : *Four years in Southern Africa*. An octavo volume of three hundred and eight pages, published at London in 1829. The author travelled eastward as far as Hintsa's kraal. He gives light sketches of the country and of the people he met, which are not always correct. There is very little to be learned from his book.

Bannister, S., late attorney-general in New South Wales : *Human policy, or justice to the aborigines of new settlements essential to a due expenditure of British money and to the best interests of the settlers. With suggestions how to civilise the natives by an improved administration of existing means*. An octavo volume of five hundred and twenty-nine pages, published at London in 1830. The greater part of this book is taken up with copies of letters and official documents. What is original is of value only as showing the wild theories that could be held by men of education regarding the coloured people of South Africa. They are represented by Mr. Bannister as eager for improvement and struggling towards civilisation, while being oppressed and kept back by the Europeans. The Kaffir chiefs are depicted as men of high character, and the Bushmen as people capable of any degree of refinement.

Narrative of voyages to explore the shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar, performed in H.M.'s ships Leven and Barracouta, under the direction of Captain W. F. W. Owen, R.N. Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1833. This work contains with other information Mr. Farewell's account of Tshaka.

Kay, Rev. Stephen : *Travels and researches in Caffraria: describing the character, customs, and moral condition of the tribes inhabiting that portion of Southern Africa; with historical and topographical remarks illustrative of the state and prospects of the British settlement in its borders, the introduction of Christianity, and the progress of civilisation*. A crown octavo volume of five hundred and nine pages, published at London in 1833. This is an interesting and valuable book, from which much information concerning the Bantu tribes and the Wesleyan missions can be obtained. But it must be read with great caution, for its author was one of those who regarded white men who were not missionaries as little better than incarnate fiends. Such expressions as 'armed ruffians' and 'cold-blooded murderers,' applied to the burghers and soldiers who formed the force which under Lieutenant-Colonel Graham

expelled the Kaffirs from the Zuurveld in 1812, must therefore be overlooked or regarded merely as the author's equivalents for men engaged in legitimate warfare. Two portraits termed those of Kaffirs are given, which are of the gentlest of Europeans with their skins darkened. The accounts given by Mr. Kay of the encounter between Major Dundas and the Amangwane and of the battle between Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset's forces and the same tribe were investigated by the government, and found to be strikingly incorrect.

Holman, James, R.N., F.R.S. : *A voyage round the world, including travels in Africa, Asia, Australasia, America, &c., &c., from 1827 to 1832*. Four octavo volumes, published at London in 1834. Three hundred and twelve pages of the second volume are devoted to an account of the author's travels in the Cape Colony. The work is interesting as the production of a blind man who travelled, chiefly on horseback, from Capetown to the Keiskama and back, but there is not much reliable information to be obtained from it.

Steedman, Andrew : *Wanderings and adventures in the interior of Southern Africa*. Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1835. This is an interesting book, especially to a student of natural history, though it cannot be placed on a level with the works of Barrow, Lichtenstein, Burchell, or Thompson. An appendix of over two hundred pages contains much useful information relating to the progress of discovery in South Africa.

Pringle, Thomas : *Narrative of a residence in South Africa*. The second edition is a crown octavo volume of three hundred and fifty-six pages, published at London in 1835. The author was one of the British settlers of 1820, but returned to England in 1826. The book is written in a pleasing style, and contains much information upon various subjects ; but it must be read with caution, as Mr. Pringle held extreme views concerning the treatment of the coloured inhabitants of South Africa by Europeans, and was apt to let his fancy run wild. It should be compared with the evidence given by Lieutenant-Colonel Wade before the committee of the house of commons in 1835.

The Cape Cyclopædia. A small volume of two hundred and five pages, published at Capetown in 1835. Of no particular value, except for an account of the missionary George Schmit.

Moodie, Lieutenant J. W. D. : *Ten years in South Africa, including a particular description of the wild sports of that country*. Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1835. For historical purposes this work is of little value, except as giving an account of

the settlement of Fredericksburg; but a sportsman may read it with interest.

Fawcett, John : *Account of an eighteen months' residence at the Cape of Good Hope in 1835-6*. An octavo volume of ninety-eight pages, published at Capetown in 1836. The author was a captain in the East India Company's military service, who visited South Africa for the sake of his health. He was a religious man, though very narrow minded, as his observations upon the Wesleyans show. The book contains a little general information, but is chiefly occupied with the author's views upon mission work and a description of several mission stations.

Polson, Lieutenant Nicolas : *A subaltern's sick leave, or rough notes of a visit in search of health to China and the Cape of Good Hope*. An octavo volume of one hundred and sixty-six pages, of which eighty-nine are devoted to South Africa, published at Calcutta in 1837. This book was written by a man of observation and sound sense. The information upon South Africa given in it is correct, but it is too scanty to be of much value. The author—the name Polson is probably fictitious—was an officer of the Bengal native infantry. He visited this country at the same time as Captain Fawcett, when the reverend Dr. Philip was the most prominent figure in colonial society. The impression which the superintendent of the London society's missions made upon them was as different as upon the various governors and the leaders of the philanthropic parties in England. Captain Fawcett speaks of him as 'that distinguished and honoured servant of the Lord . . . , a man of large and enlightened views.' The other describes him as 'one whose talents and powers of persuasion would do honour to the most glorious cause, but whose conduct would disgrace the worst.'

Shaw, Rev. Barnabas : *Memorials of South Africa*. The second edition is a small octavo volume of three hundred and forty-six pages, published at London in 1841. This book gives an account of the early Wesleyan missions in South Africa, and contains a good deal of information concerning various tribes. Its spirit is fair and kindly towards all classes of the inhabitants. It contains a few historical errors, but they are of very little importance. A considerable part of the work is taken up with experiences of religion given by converts.

Relation d'un voyage d'exploration au nord-est de la colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance, entrepris dans les mois de Mars, Avril, et Mai, 1836, par MM. T. Arbousset et F. Daumas, missionnaires de la

société des missions évangéliques de Paris. An octavo volume of six hundred and eight pages, with map and plates, published at Paris in 1842. This book contains an account of a journey from Morija to the Vaal river and back by another route, with a description of the country traversed and the various clans encountered. It gives a vivid picture of the desolation and misery caused by the wars in those regions a short time previously. It also contains a large amount of information upon native customs. There is an English translation published at Capetown in 1846, but it is without the chart or plates. An edition published at London and Aberdeen in 1852 contains the chart.

Cloete, Henry, LL.D. : *Five lectures on the emigration of the Dutch farmers from the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and their settlement in the district of Natal, until their formal submission to Her Majesty's authority in the year 1843*. An octavo volume of one hundred and sixty-eight pages, published at Capetown in 1856. These lectures give a generally faithful account of the principal events that led to the emigration, and of the proceedings of the farmers from their leaving the colony until 1843; but they were written from memory only, and consequently are not always reliable in details. They were delivered at Maritzburg, when their author was recorder of Natal.

Shaw, William : *The story of my mission in South-Eastern Africa, comprising some account of the European colonists, with extended notices of the Kaffir and other native tribes*. A crown octavo volume of five hundred and seventy-seven pages, published at London in 1860. The reverend Mr. Shaw arrived in South Africa as clergyman with a party of British settlers in 1820, and three years later removed from Salem to Wesleyville, where he founded the first Wesleyan mission with the Kaffirs. From that date his name is inseparably connected with the extension of missions in South-Eastern Africa. His book is pleasantly written, and is a trustworthy account of occurrences that came under his observation. It is free from the strong party passions which detract so greatly from some of the early missionary writings.

Borcherds, Petrus Borchardus : *An autobiographical memoir, being a plain narrative of occurrences from early life to advanced age*. An octavo volume of five hundred pages, published at Capetown in 1861. A very interesting and accurately written book.

Meurant, the honourable L. H. : *Sixty years ago, or reminiscences of the struggle for the freedom of the press in South Africa and the establishment of the first newspaper in the eastern province*.

An octavo volume of one hundred and seven pages, published at Capetown in 1885. As Mr. Meurant was connected with the *Commercial Advertiser* when it was commenced and suppressed, and was also the first editor of the *Grahamstown Journal*, this little book is both interesting and valuable.

Since 1805 a directory has been published yearly in Capetown, containing a list of all officials and the other information usually found in works of that kind. The volumes for 1805 and 1806 are in Dutch, and are entitled *Lijst van alle collegien, civiele en kerkelijke ambtenaren in de Bataafsche volkplanting aan den zuidpunt van Afrika*. From 1807 to 1814 the volumes are entitled *The African Court Calendar*, from 1815 to 1826 *The African Court Calendar and Directory*, and from 1827 onward *The South African Almanack and Directory*. They were published with the sanction and assistance of the government. The series in the South African public library is complete.

The pamphlet literature of this period is great in quantity, but much of it is valueless now. For historical purposes the following are the most important :

Reports of the committee and sub-committee of the society for the relief of distressed settlers in South Africa. Various pamphlets published at Capetown in 1823 and 1824.

Authentic copies of a correspondence which took place in consequence of a statement made at the general annual meeting of the society for the relief of distressed settlers in Capetown, 18 August 1824, reflecting on the conduct and character of the landdrost of Albany. (2) *A reply to a pamphlet printed at the government press, entitled 'authentic copies of a correspondence, &c., &c.,' by John Philip, D.D.* (3) *Letter addressed by Harry Rivers, Esq., to the colonial secretary in explanation of certain assertions and documents contained in the reply to a pamphlet entitled 'authentic copies of a correspondence, &c., &c.'* (4) *A reply to a pamphlet printed at the government printing press, Capetown, Cape of Good Hope, entitled 'authentic copies of a correspondence, &c., &c.,' by H. E. Rutherford.* Four pamphlets—altogether one hundred and twenty-one pages, published at London in 1825.

Extracts from a statement of all the facts connected with the late divisions in the Scots church, London Wall (relative to the reverend

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Dr. Philip). By the reverend Archibald Barclay, A.M. A pamphlet of fifty pages, printed at Capetown in 1824.

Letter from Sir Rufane Donkin to Earl Bathurst, dated 6th April 1827. Published at London in 1827. This letter with its annexures forms a pamphlet of one hundred and eighty-one pages.

Observations by Lieutenant-Colonel Bird on Sir Rufane Donkin's letter to Earl Bathurst. A pamphlet of thirty-two pages, published at Capetown in 1827.

Cursory remarks on a letter from Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin to Earl Bathurst. By a bystander. A pamphlet of fifty-six pages, published at Capetown in 1827.

Papers explaining the cause of Lord Bathurst's last interference with the press at the Cape of Good Hope. By John Fairbairn. A pamphlet of eighty pages, published at London in 1827.

Annual reports of the Cape of Good Hope philanthropic society for aiding deserving slaves and slave children to purchase their freedom. Pamphlets published at Capetown from 1828 to 1833.

Considerations on the exact position of the slave question. By Thomas Miller. A pamphlet of forty pages, published at Capetown in 1831.

Practical considerations on the exact position of the slave question, as far as it regards the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. By John Centlivres Chase. A pamphlet of thirty-six pages, published at Capetown in 1831.

Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope. By the reverend William Wright. A pamphlet of one hundred and seven pages, published at London in 1831.

Verslag der gehouden bijeenkomst op Maandag den 17den September 1832. A pamphlet of thirty-four pages, published at Capetown in 1832.

Correspondence between Donald Moodie, Esq., compiler and editor of the Cape Records, and the reverend John Philip, D.D., author of Researches in South Africa, relative to the production for publication of alleged official authority for the statement that 'in the year 1774 the whole race of Bushmen or Hottentots who had not submitted to servitude was ordered to be seized or extirpated.' A pamphlet of eighty-two pages, published at Capetown in 1841. A more thorough refutation of some of the charges made by Dr. Philip against the Cape government in his *Researches in South Africa* there could not be.

The bluebooks to be consulted upon this period of Cape history are the following :—

Papers respecting a British metallic circulation at the Cape of Good Hope. Sixty-three pages. London, 1826.

Return to an address of the house of commons dated 19th May 1826 for copies of letters or papers addressed to the colonial department by Mr. Bishop Burnett. Two hundred and twenty-eight pages. London, 1826.

Return to an address of the honourable house of commons of the 17th of May 1827 for certain papers relating to the administration of the government of the Cape of Good Hope. One hundred and one pages. London, 1827.

Reports of the commissioners of inquiry upon the administration of the government and the finances at the Cape of Good Hope. Eighty-three pages. London, 1827.

Documents referred to in the reports of the commissioners of inquiry upon the government and finances of the Cape of Good Hope. Three hundred and fifty-nine pages. London, 1827.

Report of the commissioners of inquiry upon the trade of the Cape of Good Hope. Forty-seven pages. London, 1829.

Papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native inhabitants of Southern Africa within the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, or beyond the frontier of that colony. Part I., two hundred and twenty-seven pages. London, 1835. Part II., one hundred and fifty-seven pages. London, 1835.

Report from the select committee on aborigines (British settlements), together with the minutes of evidence, appendix, and index. In all eleven hundred and forty-five pages. London, 1836 and 1837. A bluebook such as this, the result of the labour of a committee of the house of commons from the 31st of July 1835 to the 26th of June 1837, must be treated with respect; yet it is impossible not to express amazement when comparing the report with the evidence, even after making due allowance for the absence of the light that in recent years has been cast upon the events under investigation. The chairman of the committee was Mr. Fowell Buxton. One has only to read a few pages to observe that his questions to the witnesses were not those of a judge seeking to elicit the truth, but those of an advocate endeavouring to establish a case. But even then, the bulk of the reliable evidence was in direct opposition to the spirit of the report. In the opinion of the majority of the members the evidence of the reverend Dr. Philip must have more

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than counterbalanced that of all the military officers of experience on the Kaffir frontier and of Lieutenant-Colonel Wade, who was military secretary during the whole term of Sir Lowry Cole's administration, and who afterwards acted as governor. Sir Rufane Donkin was a member of the committee, and he objected to Dr. Philip's evidence being taken, but was without a single supporter. Every sane truthful man, unbiassed and thoroughly acquainted with the South African tribes in question, will now admit that the natives of whom Dr. Philip gave evidence were not real people of flesh and blood, but entirely creatures of his own imagination. They bore African names, but had nothing else African pertaining to them. No one, for instance, except Dr. Philip has ever seen Bushmen who had made a waggon or a plough, or who had cultivated ground in any manner for themselves. His statements and the papers which he put in form a very large portion of the bluebook. He took with him to England a Hottentot and the petty captain Jan Tshatshu, both of whom gave evidence before the committee. It was generally understood in England that the report was drawn up by Mr. Buxton, but it is doubtful whether part of it was not Dr. Philip's handiwork. The document created great surprise and still greater indignation when it reached South Africa. It was presently rumoured in Capetown that Dr. Philip had written from London a few weeks earlier to a friend of his here that he was going with Mr. Buxton to the country for a few days to assist in drawing up the report. That friend was urgently requested to settle the question by affirming or denying the correctness of the rumour. Instead of doing so, he replied asking whether it was likely that a man of so much experience as Mr. Buxton would need assistance of that kind, and, upon being further pressed, declined to give the information asked for. A particular statement in the report was then discovered to be an extract from Dr. Philip's work *Researches in South Africa*, and to be very incorrect, while there was not a word of evidence from any individual before the committee on the subject to which it referred. However, whether Mr. Buxton or Dr. Philip wrote the report matters little, the fact remains that it was based upon that portion of the evidence given before the committee which is now known not to have been in accordance with facts.

Report by John Thomas Bigge, Esqre., one of the commissioners of inquiry, upon the state of the Hottentots and Bushmen of the Cape of Good Hope. Sixty pages. Capetown, 1829.

The following are the most important bluebooks on Bantu customs :—

Proceedings of, and evidence taken by, the commission on native affairs appointed by his Excellency the governor. Five hundred pages. Grahamstown, 1865.

Report and evidence of the commission on native laws and customs of the Basuto. Sixty-eight pages. Capetown, 1873.

Report and proceedings, with appendices, of the government commission on native laws and customs. Altogether more than a thousand pages. Capetown, 1883.

The newspapers and magazines to be consulted upon this period of South African history are :

The Government Gazette, continuous from the 16th of August 1800. Files are in the South African public library and in the archives of the colonial secretary's department.

The South African Commercial Advertiser. Files as above. See chapters 33 and 35 of this volume.

The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser. Files as above. See chapter 33 of this volume.

The Colonist. A weekly newspaper of eight quarto pages, published at Capetown from the 22nd of November 1827 to the 30th of September 1828.

The Grahamstown Journal. File in the archives of the colonial secretary's department. See chapter 35 of this volume.

De Zuid Afrikaan. As the preceding.

Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift. This magazine contains much useful matter, especially in the chronicle with which each number ends. It was published every two months from April 1824 to December 1842, when it was discontinued for a time.

The South African Journal. It was intended that this magazine should be published in English alternately with the *Tijdschrift* in Dutch, but only two numbers appeared. The cause of its cessation is related in the thirty-third chapter of this volume.

The South African Quarterly Journal. Published at Capetown from October 1829 to October 1831 and from October 1833 to September 1835. Edited by the South African Literary and Scientific Institution. Contains much valuable matter.

The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette. A monthly magazine in quarto form, published at Capetown from 1831 to 1833. It is of very little value.

With all the above mentioned printed material in existence, and possibly much more of which I have no knowledge, the history of South Africa cannot be written without close study of the manuscript records in the government offices in Capetown.

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District secretary. Before the appointment of civil commissioners in 1828 the duties of the officer who held this title were to keep the records of the district, to prepare the yearly statistical returns of population, cattle, produce, &c., to receive the local taxes, to take minutes of the proceedings of the board of landdrost and heemraden, and to draft the correspondence of that board. Except in the Cape and Stellenbosch districts, the secretaries were the only auctioneers allowed, and were responsible to government for the duties on sales. After the establishment of the circuit court, another officer was appointed at each drostdy, with the title of district clerk. He was required to have some knowledge of law, as it was his duty to prepare all the proceedings in criminal cases before the arrival of the judges, and to summon the parties and witnesses in civil cases to attend.

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Dundas, Major-General Francis : in May 1797 becomes lieutenant-governor and commander of the forces, 22 ; in November 1798 on the retirement of Lord Macartney becomes acting governor, 35 ; and until December 1799 carries on the administration, 36 ; from April 1801 to February 1803 again acts as governor, 58 ; on the 21st of February 1803 transfers the colony to the Batavian commissioner-general De Mist, 78

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son and successor—then abandon the contest and retire across the Fish river, 159; early in February the Zuurveld is thoroughly scoured, and by the 24th of this month there is hardly a Kafir within the colonial border, 159; the prisoners, sufficient corn for seed, and the cattle that have been captured are then restored to the expelled clans, who are informed that they will not be molested as long as they remain in their own country, 160

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GAIKA: in 1797 claims the chieftainship of the Rarabe clans, but is opposed by his uncle Ndlambe, 28; beats Ndlambe in a battle and takes him prisoner, 29; in the same year makes an agreement of friendship with the colonial authorities, 29; entices a young wife of Ndlambe from him, and thereby renews the intertribal quarrel, 42; in June 1803 enters into an agreement of friendship with Governor Janssens, 80; in 1809 is very poor, and is living on the banks of the upper Keiskama, 145; refuses to aid the insurgents of 1815 against the government, 190; on the 2nd of April 1817 has an interview with Lord Charles Somerset at the Kat river, 109; is treated by Lord Charles as the sole chief of the Koas in alliance with the colony, 200; agrees with Lord Charles that compensation can be demanded from any kraal to which stolen cattle are traced, 200; in 1818 is residing in the Tyumie valley, 205; in the winter of 1818 is defeated by Ndlambe with great loss in the battle of Amalinde, 208; flees to the Winterberg, and sends to the nearest military post, urgently requesting aid, 208; being assisted by an armed European force, he is able to do much damage to Ndlambe, 209; but upon the retirement of the commando is again obliged to flee, 209; being again restored to the position of principal chief of the Rarabe clans by the aid of European forces, he agrees—though very unwillingly—with Lord Charles Somerset that the land between the Fish and Keiskama rivers shall remain unoccupied except by soldiers, 217; in June 1821 at a conference with Sir Rufane Donkin consents to the territory between the Fish and Keiskama rivers being given to European immigrants, 233; in January 1824 the colonial government reverses its policy and treats with Gaika's enemies as independent chiefs, 356; in November 1828 Gaika dies near Burnshill, on the Keiskama, 399

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- Government bank. This bank conducted business under three headings. 1. Mortgages. In this branch money was advanced on landed property, with collateral personal security. Payment usually commenced upon the expiration of two years from the date of the loan, and was made at the rate of ten per cent per annum. 2. Temporary loans. In this branch money was lent for six months on security of slaves or other movable property. 3. Discount. In this branch bills and notes of hand payable within three months were discounted, if the security was considered sufficient.
- van de Graaf, Henry: in August 1804 is appointed first landdrost of the district of Tulbagh, 94
- Graham, Lieutenant-Colonel John: upon the conquest of the colony in 1806 is instructed to form a regiment of Hottentots, 125; commands the united military and burgher forces in the fourth Kaffir war, 156; in October 1820 is appointed first landdrost of the district of Albany, 232; in March 1821 dies, 232
- Grahamstown: in March 1812 the head-quarters of the troops on the frontier occupy this place, 161; in July a deputy landdrost of Uitenhage is stationed here, 161; and in August the name Grahamstown is given to it in honour of Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham, of the Cape regiment, 161; in 1834 it contains six hundred houses, 428; further particulars concerning, 428
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Heemraden: in October 1805 have their qualifications and duties strictly defined by an ordinance, 105; on the 1st of January 1828 the office is abolished, 333

Herold, Rev. T.: in December 1812 arrives in South Africa and becomes first clergyman of the new church at George, 171

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Hesse, Rev. F.: in February 1802 arrives in South Africa and assumes duty as clergyman of the Lutheran church in Capetown, 75

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notes, the dies whereof were kept under the joint seals of the court and the governor. A member of the court was required to attend the impression of stamps, and his certificate of issue was the check upon the collector of stamp duties. The dies for the stamps were kept under the joint seals of the court and the governor. The judges were also required to execute the duties of coroners in Capetown and the Cape district.

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Klcherer, Rev. J. J.: in March 1799 arrives in South Africa as an agent of the London missionary society, 50; forms a station among the Bushmen on the Zak river, 51; in January 1806 leaves the service of the London missionary society, and becomes clergyman of Graaff-Reinet, 170

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